

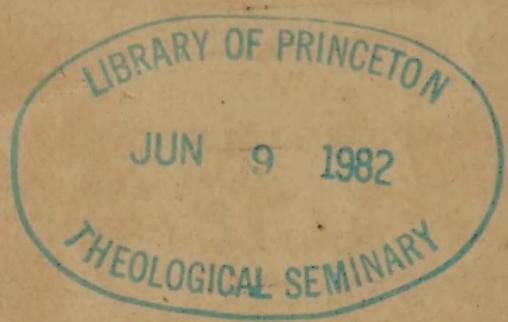
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SPEECH
OF
ARCHBISHOP KENRICK
AT THE
VATICAN COUNCIL.



AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY,
150 NASSAU-STREET
NEW YORK.



BX1806
K36

SPEECH
OF
PETER RICHARD KENRICK,

ARCHBISHOP OF ST. LOUIS

IN

THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,

PREPARED FOR SPEAKING BUT NOT SPOKEN

IN THE

VATICAN COUNCIL.

O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called, which some professing have erred concerning the faith. 1 Tim. 6:20, 21.
Not on Peter only, but on all the apostles and their successors, is built the Church of God. PASCHASIUS RADBERT.

Book viii, on Matt. 16.

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NOTE.

THE reason why this speech was not delivered, although prepared for that purpose, is this—that on the third day of June, at the close of the general congregation, a stop was unexpectedly put to the general discussion on the first *schema* concerning Catholic faith. Among forty bishops, more or less, who had entered their names as desiring to be heard, was the writer of the following. He has deemed best that his divine right of expressing his views on this momentous business to his fellow-bishops, and to others who are entitled to an interest in the Council, should be exercised through the press. But he has retained the form of a speech, and some matters that would be pertinent only in a spoken discourse.

ROME, June 8, 1870.

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MOST EMINENT PRESIDENTS; MOST EMINENT AND
RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS:

The Most Reverend the Archbishop of Dublin, in his speech from this platform, has said some things by which my honor is sorely wounded. It was in vain that I begged permission of His Eminence the president to reply at once, at the close of his speech, or at least at the close of that day's general congregation. Therefore it is that, contrary to my previous purpose, I take the floor to-day to speak on the *schema* in general that is offered for our adoption; for I had taken for granted that everything pertinent to the subject would be more fully and forcibly said by others than I could say it. I entreat your pardon, most eminent and right reverend fathers, if I seem to weary you with a longer speech than I am wont to make. I only ask that you will grant me that liberty which (as Bossuet says) well becomes a bishop addressing bishops in Council, and having respect rather to the future than to the present—in the confidence that I will not wander from the scope of the *schema*, nor say anything which can give just offence to any one—least of all to the most eminent the archbishop of Dublin, to whom I acknowledge my very great obligations, to whom I have always looked up with respect, for these thirty years and more, and whom I hope and trust I shall continue to respect to my latest breath. With which preliminary words I come to the subject.

I. The observations numbered one hundred and thirty-eight in the synopsis, on which His Eminence of Dublin so severely reflects, I acknowledge to be mine. I wrote in them nothing but what I thought, and (except so far as may appear to the contrary from the present speech) nothing but what I still think. Three points thereof have been attacked in terms of special severity by the most reverend prelate. First, that I said, on page 217, that all the other apostles were designated by the same name of *foundation* which was applied to Peter; which seemed to him to impair the proof of the primacy of the Roman pontiff deduced by theologians from that word. The blame of this, to be sure, should not be laid on me, but on St. Paul and St. John. But that this was the furthest possible from my intention is proved by the words which I used, as follows: "The words of Christ, *Thou art Peter*, etc., certainly show that a privilege was conferred by Christ on Peter above the other apostles, so that he should be the primary foundation of the church; which the church has always acknowledged, by conceding to him the primacy both of honor and of jurisdiction." I denied, indeed, that by virtue of that word *foundation* the gift of infallibility was conferred upon Peter above the other apostles; since no mortal ever thought of claiming this privilege for the other apostles and their successors from the mere fact that they too had been honored with the same title of *foundation*. I then showed it to be a false inference that the stability of the church was derived from the

strength of the foundation, since Christ had signified that he would provide for each of these in some other way; that is, in the words, addressed to all the apostles, Peter with the rest, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." It is hardly fair to say that by this line of reasoning I had either assailed or meant to assail the common arguments for the primacy derived from Christ's words, "Thou art Peter," etc. But I shall show, by-and-by, that the most reverend archbishop himself, by the line of reasoning which he adopts in speaking of the other apostles, and their successors the bishops, not only impeaches this argument for the primacy, but utterly destroys it.

Secondly, the archbishop of Dublin asserted, and that with emphasis, that what I had written about John 21:16, 17, was not true; to wit, that the words *lambs* and *sheep* which there occur in the Vulgate version—from the distinction between which, by an argument more subtle than solid, some were wont to infer that both bishops and simple believers are committed to the pastoral care of the Roman pontiff as Peter's successor—corresponded to one and the same word, *προβάτια*, in the Greek text; and that therefore the argument was groundless. I cannot sufficiently wonder that the most reverend archbishop should have ventured to put forth such an assertion; especially, as in talking about it, he seemed to get the word *προβάτια* changed for *πρόβατα*. The Greek text revised a few years since, in accordance with the oldest manuscripts, by Tischendorf, (to

whom, if I remember correctly, the pope sent a letter of approval for the work which, after vast labor, he had so successfully accomplished,) shows that I was right. I have here the seventh edition, published in 1859, from which I will read the entire passage, adding to the successive answers of Christ, the Vulgate version of them,* so that you may plainly perceive that His Eminence of Dublin has been affected in this matter by some measure of human fallibility. Let me add, that on the arch over the pope's throne in St. Peter's church, where these verses are displayed in Greek, you may read *προβάτια*, but not *πρόβατα*.

In the little work *De Pontificiâ Infallibilitate*, almost of the same tenor as the *Observations* aforesaid, which I had printed lately at Naples, by a typographical error the word *πρόβατα* occurs instead of *προβάτια*, as it was in my manuscript, and as it appears in the Synopsis. But, after all, it is a fact that in the Greek text of Hahn the same word *πρόβατα* does correspond to both the words, *lambs* and *sheep*, in the place cited. But the only difference produced by the variation of reading is this: In Tischendorf's text there is nothing whatever to correspond to the word *sheep*; for *προβάτια* means either *little lambs* or *little sheep*, but not *sheep* at all. But in the other text, of Hahn, the word *πρόβατα* signifies *sheep*; notwithstanding which the author of the Vulgate version chose to make a variation, by rendering the same word *πρόβατα* in one case

* John 21:15. Βόσκε τὰ ἄρνια μου—Pasce agnos meos.

16. Ποίμανε τὰ προβάτια μου—Pasce agnos meos.

17. Βόσκε τὰ προβάτια μου—Pasce oves meas.

by *lambs* and in the other by *sheep*.* My assertion, which the archbishop of Dublin over and over again declared with such emphasis to be untrue, is shown to be absolutely true, whichever of the two readings is adopted. As to the Oriental versions cited by His Eminence, I do not care to speak, being satisfied to have demonstrated the truth of my assertion. But from what I shall say by-and-by, it will appear that it is of trifling consequence what sense we attribute to these words, since I shall easily show that (contrary to what I had said in the *Observations*) no inference can be derived from them in support of the infallibility, or even of the primacy, of the pope.

In the third place, the most reverend archbishop calls me to account for what I said concerning the word *faith* in Luke 22:32;† that that word was never used by our Lord to mean the system of doctrines, (in which sense alone it can afford any ground for an argument in support of papal infallibility,) and not more than once or twice to mean that act of supernatural virtue with which we believe in God making revelation of himself. I asserted that by that word

[* There is a decree of the Council of Trent in these terms: “The sacred and holy Synod . . . doth ordain and declare that the said old and Vulgate edition . . . be, in public lectures, disputations, preachings, and expositions, held as authentic; and that no one is to dare or presume to reject it under any pretext whatsoever.” *Act. Conc. Trid.*, Sess. 4. How Archbishop Kenrick justifies himself in rejecting the Vulgate version of this text, in favor of the true reading and correct translation, we are not prepared to say; but it is probably on the ground that this was not intended as a public exposition, but as a private and confidential communication to his fellow-bishops. TRANSLATOR.]

† “I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.”

(as may be gathered from the discourses of the Lord) was almost always meant *trust* or *confidence*. I showed that, in the passage cited, the word had this sense and no other, holding to the rule that the customary meaning of a word is to be retained, unless the context requires a different one—and in the present case the context favors the usual meaning. The most reverend archbishop said—perhaps not measuring the force of his words—that this assertion of mine smacked of the Calvinistic heresy; in proof of which he adduced John 11:27, the words in which Martha professes her belief in Christ, which we are compelled to understand concerning faith in the Catholic sense of the word.

But the excellent bishop did not notice that in my Observation the question was not how to define the true nature of gracious faith as a “theological virtue,” but only as to the force of the word *faith* in its customary usage in the discourses of Christ. Out of twenty-nine passages in the gospels in which this word occurs, (which may be easily seen by consulting the concordance of the Latin Bible,) there are only two—Matt. 23:23,* and Luke 18:8†—in which the word *faith* can possibly be taken in the sense of the theological virtue of faith. All the other passages give the meaning of *trust* or *confidence*, or *faith of miracles*. In Luke 22:32,‡ which is the passage in

* . . . “The weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith.”

† “When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?”

‡ “I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.”

question, this seemed, and still seems, to me to be proved to be the true meaning, both by the customary usage of the word and by the context. And the most reverend archbishop has brought forward nothing in disproof of this statement.*

II. I now proceed to show that the archbishop of Dublin, by his course of reasoning, has emptied the words, "Thou art Peter," etc., of all the force which theologians have commonly thought them to contain. He denies that the bishops, as successors of the apostles, have that universal jurisdiction in the church which the apostles received from Christ; which indeed is true if we speak of the individual

[* It is pretty clear that Archbishop Cullen took the measure of his words more accurately than Archbishop Kenrick gives him credit for. On the one hand, Kenrick is unmistakably and unanswerably right in the definition he gives of the word *faith* as used in the gospels. On the other hand, his antagonist is right in declaring that this definition smacks of Protestantism. For the authorized Roman-catholic definition of faith is the intellectual assent to certain dogmas as revealed. Now when Archbishop Kenrick shows that the faith to which our Lord Jesus Christ promised eternal life is *not* that act which the Roman church exacts as the condition of salvation, but is really that act of committing oneself in *trust* and *confidence* to the Saviour, which is set forth by evangelical preachers as the way of salvation, he does certainly pull out one of the foundation stones on which the whole fabric of the Romish system is built.

It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of this point. It is a cardinal point in the whole controversy. Grant the Romish definition of faith, and the Romish doctrine of justification easily follows; for the mere intellectual receiving of dogmas does of itself neither justify nor sanctify. Grant this definition, and the figment of an infallible tribunal of dogma, constantly sitting and emitting decrees, is necessitated. On the other hand, if the gospel definition of faith, as stated by Dr. Kenrick, is admitted, the gospel system of truth naturally follows. TRANSLATOR.]

bishops outside of a general council, but is not true if understood of the body of bishops, whether in council or not. If the power given to the apostles, of preaching the gospel in the whole earth, is to be restricted to themselves, although it was given by Christ to continue "to the end of the world," it is impossible to prove that the privilege, whatever it may have been, conferred upon Peter in the words, "Thou art Peter," etc., descended to his successors, the popes. The argument, therefore, derived from these words in Matthew 16:18, 19, falls to the ground from the fact that the words of Christ in the 28th chapter, verses 18, 20, of the same evangelist, receive a less literal interpretation; for the question, in both passages, is on the power belonging to the sacred ministry, and not on any sign of their divine mission, such as working miracles, speaking with tongues, or some other such gift. Either, then, the whole of this power of the ministry passed to their successors, or none of it; and surely this last cannot be said. I have not, therefore, infringed upon the proof of the primacy from the words, "Thou art Peter," etc.; on the contrary, I have explicitly acknowledged that proof. But the archbishop, by denying that the universal jurisdiction granted to the apostles has descended to their successors, has done that very thing himself.

I thus prove that all the ministerial privileges granted, whether to Peter or to the rest of the apostles, have descended to their successors; making no inquiry at present what was the nature of these priv-

ileges, or by what sort of evidence they are proved to have been conferred.

Whatever belongs to the sacred ministry in the church of Christ by the institution of its Founder, must belong to it always; otherwise the church would not be such as he instituted it. Therefore those privileges granted to the apostles which concern the function committed to them, are the same now as when they were first conferred. This is equally true of those which were given to all, including Peter, and of that which was granted to Peter individually. On the day of the resurrection, Christ gave commission to all the apostles, always including Peter, in the words, "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you," John 20:21; and afterwards, when he was about to ascend into heaven, in the words, "Go, teach all nations," etc., Matt. 28:19, 20. But these words, addressed to all, concern them, not as if spoken to them individually, but to them, as constituting a sort of college of apostles; which is clear from the fact that Thomas, though absent when Christ appeared to the apostles on the resurrection day, received (as all admit) the same commission and the same power of remitting sins as the rest. This apostolic college is constituted a *moral person*, which is to continue to the end of the world; whose identity is no more diminished by the perpetual succession of its members, than our personal identity is affected by the constant change of the elements that compose our bodies. Thus it stands ever before men a living eye-and-ear witness of those things

which Christ did and taught; so that it may always use the words of John, (1st epistle, 1:3,) "What we have seen and heard declare we unto you." Whatever power, then, it had at its origin it has now: divine commission ("as the Father hath sent me") and universal jurisdiction ("Go, teach all nations") must be acknowledged to belong now to the apostolic college. And if this be denied or even weakened, the whole Christian religion falls to the ground.

From which I infer that the successors of Peter and the rest of the apostles, constituting the apostolic college, have every power now which they had when the college was first instituted by Christ. The individual bishops, taken singly, receive, by the ordinances of the college itself, only an ordinary local jurisdiction in their several dioceses. But the bishops, taken universally, have a universal jurisdiction; not in that sense exactly that the universal jurisdiction is made up by the sum of the local jurisdictions; but that the bishops universally, whether dispersed and separated from each other, or united in a general council, constitute the apostolic college. Hence the words of Cyprian, "There is one episcopate, an undivided part of which is held by every bishop,"* receive light and a ready explanation. If the most reverend archbishop of Dublin is not prepared to admit all this, at least he must confess that the several bishops united in General Council have

[* "Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur." The phrase is one often quoted from the treatise *De Unit. Eccl.*, and much disputed as to its rendering. Tr.]

universal jurisdiction. This jurisdiction the illustrious archbishop of Nisibis,* at the end of the second volume of the French translation of his History of General Councils, tries to show is derived by the bishops directly from the Holy Ghost, by virtue of their consecration, while he refers their local jurisdiction to the Roman pontiff. But the school of theologians to which I adhere considers all episcopal jurisdiction to be held by the bishops by immediate derivation from Christ, but that the ordinary local restriction of it had no other origin than the ordinance of the church, in due subordination, nevertheless, to the Roman pontiff as the head alike of the apostolic college and of the universal church. I say, therefore, that the words of Christ spoken to the apostles lose none of their force to the successors of the apostles; and in this I lay down nothing which tends to weaken the argument which theologians are accustomed to deduce from Matt. 16:18, in proof of the primacy of the Roman pontiff. This argument I now proceed to examine.

III. I beg you so far to indulge me, most eminent and reverend fathers, as to give me your calm attention while I say things which doubtless will not be agreeable to many of you. I am not about to set forth anything heretical or savoring of heresy, (as the remarks of the archbishop of Dublin may have led you to fear,) nor anything opposed to the principles of the faith, nor anything but what, so far as my slender abilities permit, I shall endeavor

[* Cardoni, one of the pope's theologians.]

to sustain with solid argument. One thing I wish to give warning of: I speak for myself only, not for others; and I do not know but that what I am about to say may give dissatisfaction even to those with whom I take sides in the discussion of this question. If, in the course of my speech, I happen to speak too sharply on any point, remember and imitate the example of those leaders who were persuaded to patience by the famous saying, "Strike, but hear." I shall pay due respect to Their Eminences the moderators of the congregation; but I will not be put down by commotions.*

The primacy of the Roman pontiff, both in honor and in jurisdiction, in the universal church, I acknowledge. Primacy, I say, not *lordship*. But that the primacy is vested in him as the successor of Peter, all the tradition of the church testifies, from the beginning. And on the sole strength of this testimony I accept it as an absolutely certain principle and dogma of faith. But that it can be proved from the words of Holy Scripture, by any one who would be faithful to the rule of interpretation prescribed to us in that profession of faith which we have uttered at the opening of this Council,† and so often on

[* *Motibus autem non cedam.* The fact that the writer, preparing his speech in advance, should deem it needful to announce this determination, suggests obvious inferences concerning the character of the sessions of the Council, and calls for explanation from Archbishop Manning.]

[† The "Creed of Pius IV." (see above, p. 73, *note*) declares: "I will never take nor interpret the Holy Scripture except in accordance with the unanimous consent of the fathers." Archbishop Kenrick goes on to say, with truth, that there never is any

other occasions, I deny. It is true that, following the principles of exegesis, I held the opposite view when I was writing the *Observations* which the archbishop of Dublin has attacked so sharply. But on a closer study of the subject, I judge that this interpretation must be abandoned. My reason for this change of opinion is the following:

The rule of Biblical interpretation imposed upon us is this: that the Scriptures are not to be interpreted contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers. It is doubtful whether any instance of that unanimous consent is to be found. But this failing, the rule seems to lay down for us the law of following, in their interpretation of Scripture, the major number of the fathers, that might seem to approach unanimity. Accepting this rule, we are compelled to abandon the usual modern exposition of the words, "On this rock will I build my church."

In a remarkable pamphlet "printed in *fac-simile* of manuscript," and presented to the fathers almost two months ago, we find five different interpretations of the word *rock*, in the place cited; "the first of which declares" (I transcribe the words) "that the church was built on *Peter*; and this interpretation is followed by *seventeen* fathers—among them, by *Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria, Leo the Great, Augustine*.

"The second interpretation understands from such unanimous consent. Literally, then, the creed is a vow not to receive nor interpret the Scriptures at all—in which sense, there is no doubt that it is sometimes fulfilled with great faithfulness and consistency.]

these words, ‘On this rock will I build my church,’ that the church was built on *all* the apostles, whom Peter represented by virtue of the primacy. And this opinion is followed by *eight* fathers—among them, Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret.

“The third interpretation asserts that the words, ‘On this rock,’ etc., are to be understood of the *faith* which Peter had professed—that this faith, this profession of faith, by which we believe Christ to be the Son of the living God, is the everlasting and immovable foundation of the church. This interpretation is the weightiest of all, since it is followed by *forty-four* fathers and doctors; among them, from the East, are Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Theophylact; from the West, Hilary, Ambrose, Leo the Great; from Africa, Augustine.

“The fourth interpretation declares that the words, ‘On this rock,’ etc., are to be understood of that rock which Peter had confessed, that is, *Christ*—that the church was built upon Christ. This interpretation is followed by *sixteen* fathers and doctors.

“The fifth interpretation of the fathers understands by the name of *the rock*, the *faithful* themselves, who, believing Christ to be the Son of God, are constituted living stones out of which the church is built.”

Thus far the author of the pamphlet aforesaid, in which may be read the words of the fathers and doctors whom he cites.

From this it follows, either that no argument at

all, or one of the slenderest probability, is to be derived from the words, "On this rock will I build my church," in support of the primacy. Unless it is certain that by *the rock* is to be understood the apostle Peter in his own person, and not in his capacity as the chief apostle speaking for them all, the word supplies no argument whatever, I do not say in proof of papal infallibility, but even in support of the *primacy* of the bishop of Rome. If we are bound to follow the majority of the fathers in this thing, then we are bound to hold for certain that by *the rock* should be understood the faith professed by Peter, not Peter professing the faith. And here I must be allowed to bring forward a signal example of a less ingenuous interpretation, presented in the little volume lately published here at Rome, by an exceptional privilege, by the reverend archbishop of Edessa, which, by the leave of that venerable man, I wish to speak of; for in a matter of this importance we are bound to use the plainest words, if they are but true. The book is commended by a squad of eleven eminent theologians under the command of the learned Father Perrone, to the supreme pontiff, by whose permission, doubtless, it is excepted from the rule which prevents the bishops from communicating their views to each other through the press, unless they are willing to get the use of the press somewhere else than in Rome.

The two principal interpretations, which understand by *the rock* Peter, and Peter's faith, having been cited, and the observation being made that the

former was common before the Arian heresy, but that the other gained ground afterwards on account of the rise of the controversy on the divinity of Christ, the most reverend author proceeds with his lucubration in the following words, pp. 7 and 8 :

“ But it will be obvious to any one who will take the following things into consideration, how mutually consistent are both these expositions of the gospel text. For the establishment and preservation of unity, Christ sets the person of Peter and his successors in the primacy, as the centre, that all believers might be conjoined at once in unity of faith and of fellowship. But since unity consists not only in the fellowship of all believers, but especially in the oneness of faith, which is greater than fellowship, it was absolutely necessary both that the foundation of the ecclesiastical structure should be laid, and that the centre of unity should be established, not in the mere person of Peter, but also in the faith which he preached. For if the foundation of the church were laid only in the person of Peter, and not also in the solidity of his faith, then, the faith of Peter failing, the unity of the church would be lost, and a plurality of churches would be formed upon the variation in the profession of faith. If therefore Christ wished the church to be one, in the unity of faith and fellowship ; if, in order to the perpetual preservation of this unity, he set the person of Peter in the relation of foundation and centre, it behooved him also to set Peter’s most solid faith, which he professed and preached, as the foundation ; otherwise he would not

have attained the end which he had set before himself in establishing the church. Wherefore, since both Peter's person and the faith which he preached are the foundation of the church, it is clear that that same rock-like firmness which is the glory of Peter's person is also to be ascribed to his faith, lest, without it, the whole building should tumble. Therefore both expositions of these words of Christ are happily in accordance with his intention in founding the church, and one of them serves to throw light on the other. Therefore the fathers of the earlier centuries, applying these words to the person of Peter, not only do not exclude the second interpretation, but by implication presume it; for, admitting the person of Peter to be the immovable foundation-rock of the whole structure of the church, they are bound by implication to admit at the same time his faith also as standing in the same relation of foundation; since identity of faith is the foundation of the unity of the whole building. On the other hand, they who hold that Peter's faith is the rock laid by Christ for the foundation of the church, do not exclude Peter's person, but only teach more explicitly in what way Peter is to be understood as the rock and foundation of the church. Hence there are several of them who give both expositions, as may be seen in St. Augustine."

To say nothing of the fact that the author takes for granted, in these observations, the thing in question, namely, that Christ founded his church on Peter's personal faith, and that a consequence of this

is the infallibility of Peter's successors, I remark only on one point. Out of the passages of the fathers which he quotes through six or seven pages, there are many which are capable of being understood either of Peter professing his faith, that is, of Peter's subjective faith, or of the faith professed by Peter, that is, of Peter's faith taken objectively. But to make his argument good for anything, the author had to prove that the fathers cited by him spoke of the subjective and not the objective faith of Peter—which he has quite neglected to do.

It seems to me, after some thought upon the diversity of interpretations, that they may all be resolved into one, by taking into consideration the distinction between the foundation on which a house is built, and the foundation which is laid in the building of it. The builder of a house, especially if it is to be a great house, and to stand a long time, begins with digging down until he comes, as the phrase goes, "to the live rock;" and on this he lays the foundations, that is, the first course of the building. If we admit this double meaning of foundation, all the diversity of interpretations disappears; and many passages of Scripture, which at first might seem difficult to reconcile with each other, receive great light. The natural and primary foundation, so to speak, of the church, is Christ, whether we consider his person, or faith in his divine nature. The architectural foundation, that laid by Christ, is the twelve apostles, among whom Peter is eminent by virtue of the primacy. In this way we reconcile those passages of

the fathers, which understand him on this occasion, (as in the instance related in John 6, after the discourse of Christ in the synagogue of Capernaum,) to have answered in the name of all the apostles, to a question addressed to them all in common; and in behalf of all to have received the reward of confession.*

In this explanation of the word *rock*, the primacy of Peter is guarded, as the primary ministerial foundation; and the fitness of the words of Paul and John is guarded, when they call all the apostles by the common title of the foundation; and the truth of the expression used with such emphasis by Paul, is guarded: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, even Christ Jesus," 1 Cor. 3:2; and the adversaries of the faith are disarmed of the weapon which they have so effectively wielded against us, when they say that the Catholics believe the church to be built, not on Christ, but on a mortal man; and (a matter of no small account in the present discussion) the underpinning is taken out from the argument which the advocates of the infallibility of the pope by himself alone are wont to derive from a figurative expression of doubtful meaning—riding the metaphor to death—to prove that he received from Christ an authority not only supreme, but absolute. But whatever may be thought of this opinion of mine, it is obviously impossible to deduce from

* S. HIERONYMUS, in Matt. 16:15, 16. S. AUGUSTINUS, Enarr. in Psa. 108, n. 1. IDEM, in Joannis Evangelium, 118, n. 4. S. AMBROSIUS, in Psa. 38:37.

the words, "Thou art Peter," etc., a peremptory argument in proof even of the primacy.*

As to the other words of Christ to Peter, "Feed my lambs," and "Feed my sheep," it may be said that by that threefold commission Christ showed that Peter had not fallen, by his threefold denial, from the privilege by which he had been called to partnership with the apostles; and that this was continued to him in reward for the greater love he bore towards his Lord above the rest. As Augustine says, "The triple confession answers to the triple denial, so that his tongue might give no less service to his love than to his fear, and so that impending death should not seem to have drawn out more from him than present life."* The argument adduced by Bellarmine, that the words "my sheep" and "my lambs" include the whole flock of Christ, and therefore show that the power conferred by them extends to all, proves nothing at all. For they are no more general, nor do they any more express the idea of government, than those which Paul addressed to the elders at Miletus collectively: "Take heed to yourselves and to *all the flock*† over which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to rule‡ (*ποιμαίνειν*) the church

* After the above had been sent to the printer, I happened on a passage in Paschasius Radbert, which expresses the same idea in advance of me: "Licet super eodem fundamento primus ac si caput Petrus recte positus credatur, tamen in eâ petrâ de quâ nomen sibi ex dono traxit, et super eam tota construitur, et constabilitur illa cœlestis Jerusalem, id est, super Christum, ut firma permaneat in æternum." Expos. in Matt., lib. 8, ch. 16.

† In Joann. Evang., ch. 123, n. 5.

‡ *Vulgate*, Universo gregi.

§ *Vulgate*, Regere.

of God which he hath purchased with his own blood." Acts 20:28.*

That the words, "I have prayed for thee," etc., do not have the sense commonly attributed to them, but are to be understood of Peter's fall at the time of the passion, and his subsequent conversion, I have tried to show in my Observations.† "This in-

* See S. BASIL., *Constit. Monastic*, ch. 22, n. 5. S. AUGUSTIN., *De Agone Christiano*, ch. 30.

† The following is an extract from the Observations alluded to:

"Neither is there any more value as a proof of papal inerrancy in those words of Christ to Peter (Luke 22:31, 32) in which the advocates of this opinion think to find their main argument. Considering the connection in which Christ uttered them, and the words which he proceeded to address to all the apostles, it does not appear that any gift pertaining to the government of the church was then granted or promised to Peter, much less that the gift of inerrancy in the government of it was declared to him. It was a warning by which the Lord exhorted him to overcome the impending temptation to which he was going to be exposed, and at the same time an intimation that after his fall he should be converted and strengthen the rest of the apostles. Christ prayed therefore for Peter, who, as he was distinguished above the other apostles in his work, was sought above the rest to be sifted by Satan, and was foreseen to be above the rest liable to lapse. Christ prayed for him that his faith might not fail—that is, that he might not wholly or for ever lose that trust by which thus far he had clung to Christ; and that after his fall, coming to himself again, that is, being converted, he should add courage to the rest. This Peter did after the Lord's resurrection, when he announced the fact to the other disciples, as appears from the words, 'The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared unto Peter.' Luke 24:34. The words of Christ, then, are to be understood, not of faith as a body of doctrine, in which sense it is never used by the Lord; nor yet of faith, the theological virtue by which we believe in God, in which sense it occurs in his discourses no more than once or twice; but of that trust by which, thus far, he had clung to him as a Master. And if a few of the early interpreters, and the crowd of the moderns, have understood these words differently, and have found them to contain the conferring upon Peter of the office of

terpretation," says the author of the pamphlet printed in *fac-simile*, "is one of great reputation and authority, given by forty-four fathers and doctors both of the most ancient and of later times." For so the words were understood through the first six centuries of the church. The fact that they afterwards received another meaning. seems to have grown out of the common usage of ecclesiastical writers, of interpreting the words of Scripture in an accommodated sense instead of the literal sense.

In addition to the remarks on this subject in my Observations, I take pleasure in adding some things which seem to confirm my view of the meaning of Christ's words. From the fact that the Saviour, after speaking to all the apostles and informing them that Satan had sought them, to sift them as wheat, turns then to Peter with the words, "I have prayed for *thee*"—which must necessarily be understood of him alone, to the exclusion of the rest, since, after being converted, he was to strengthen the others—it is inferred that some peculiar thing was promised to Peter in these words. In fact this is true, but something considerably different from the extraordinary gift commonly understood to have been promised to Peter in them.

Can it be said that Christ prayed for Peter alone, but that he provided no safeguard for the others, about to encounter so great a peril? How then does confirming in the faith his brethren, that is, the rest of the apostles and their successors the bishops, this does not impose upon other people any necessity of abandoning the simple and literal meaning."

it come to pass that the others stood firm, unsustained by any extraordinary assistance, while Peter, for whom singly Christ prayed, so grievously fell? The true reason why the Saviour addressed the words to him alone seems to be this: He prayed indeed for all, as we cannot but take for granted. But to Peter he intimated, by directing his words exclusively to him, (just as, after Peter's answer in verse 33, he proceeded to say it more plainly in verse 34,) that he would deny his Master. Thus he warned him of his approaching fall, and foretold his conversion, and that by him the rest were to be confirmed. The Lord's words so understood give a clear sense. Beside the repeated warning given to Peter, they contain the prophecy of his conversion; so that when Peter, having come to himself, clearly recollected it, it left no doubt in his mind of the pardon which he should obtain, and thus saved him, it may be, from despair in view of his most grievous sin.

Besides, the successive words addressed by Christ to Peter cannot be understood of his successors without involving an extraordinary absurdity. The words, "When thou art converted," certainly refer to Peter's conversion. If the foregoing words, "I have prayed for thee," and the following, "Strengthen thy brethren," prove that the Divine assistance and the office have descended to his successors, it does not appear why the intermediate words, "when thou art converted," should not belong to them too, and in some sense be understood of them.*

[* There is an extremely telling stroke of covert sarcasm here,

In saying these things, I am not greatly affected by the accusation lately levied against me, without mentioning my name, by the right reverend bishop of Elphin (treading in the footsteps of the archbishop of Dublin) when he gave vent to his grief of heart that there should be any among the bishops who would not scruple to take the texts of Holy Scripture and other citations in proof of papal infallibility, and interpret them in the sense accepted by heretics! "If these things," said that excellent man, "are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" My answer to him and to others is this: Following the example of Irenæus, Tertullian, Augustine, and Vincent of Lerins, I believe that the proofs of the Catholic faith are to be sought rather in tradition than in the interpretation of the Scriptures.* "Interpretation of Scripture," says Tertullian, "is better adapted to befog the truth than to demonstrate it." Of the testimonies derived from tradition, there are some which, I think, will have to be given up; as in the phrase of Irenæus on the superior authority which he is commonly thought to have

as well as a substantial argument. It is more than implied that if the words impute to the popes Peter's commission and Peter's grant of divine grace, they must impute to them also Peter's conversion and therefore Peter's apostasy. It was quite unnecessary for the author to do more than suggest to his intended audience, that the popes might perhaps succeed better in vindicating their succession to Peter by the signs of apostasy than by the signs of grace.]

[* This frank and unreserved acknowledgment would perhaps hardly have been made in a document intended for the promiscuous public. But it is sustained by weighty authorities in Roman theology. Some of these may be found cited by Lord Acton, p. 104.]

claimed for the Roman church. But I have taken the responsibility of this concession, alleging substantial reasons, which ought to be met, not with abuse, but with other reasons.

It has seemed to me that nice refinements upon figures of speech had better be laid aside; but I have appealed to the faith of the Councils and the fathers, which shows that such subtleties do not agree with the ancient doctrine and practice of the church universal, but rather contradict them. This method of reasoning is better fitted for bringing back Protestants into the bosom of the church, than arguments the very principles of which they reject; and which, although they may seem impregnable to less intelligent Catholics, nevertheless are proved by the experience of the last three centuries to be ill adapted for putting an end to controversies.

I close this part of my speech with a brief summing up of the argument:

We have in the Holy Scriptures perfectly clear testimonies of a commission given to all the apostles, and of the divine assistance promised to all. These passages are clear, and admit no variation of meaning. We have not even one single passage of Scripture, the meaning of which is undisputed, in which anything of the kind is promised to Peter separately from the rest. And yet the authors of the *schema* want us to assert that to the Roman pontiff as Peter's successor is given that power which cannot be proved by any clear evidence of holy Scripture to have been given to Peter himself except just so far

as he received it in common with the other apostles; and which being claimed for him separately from the rest, it would follow that the divine assistance promised to them was to be communicated only through him, although it is clear from the passages cited that it was promised to him only in the same manner and in the same terms as to all the others. I admit, indeed, that a great privilege was granted to Peter above the rest; but I am led to this conviction by the testimony, not of the Scriptures, but of all Christian antiquity. By the help of this testimony it appears that he is infallible; but on this condition, that he should use the counsel of his brethren, and should be aided by the judgment of those who are his partners in this supreme function, and should speak in their name, of whom he is head and mouth. And yet there is no one but sees how far this privilege falls short of the desires of those who, not without abuse of their opponents that stand in the old paths of the church, desire that the papal power, great by its divine origin, and since that, in the course of ages, enormously augmented, should be the *sole* power in the church.*

* In his Letter to the Archbishop of Paris, dated October 24, 1865, the pope claims for himself the ordinary power in the particular dioceses. In the schema *De Romano Pontifice* it is said that he has ordinary and immediate jurisdiction in the universal church. Since this is said without making any distinction between ordinary or episcopal power and ordinary patriarchal or primatial power, it would seem to follow that the pope is actually ordinary or bishop of each several diocese of the Christian world. According to the author of the book *On the Roman Curia*, who lived at Rome for fifteen years, the pope is the *exclusive* ordinary of all the missions under the sacred congregation *de Propaganda*.

IV. At the opening of his speech, the archbishop of Dublin spoke in terms of the highest praise of an English work by my late brother archbishop of Baltimore, on "The Primacy of the Apostolic See;" for which I made due acknowledgments. But in the course of his speech it appeared to me that his commemoration of the dead was a reproach to the living; for he related how that thirty years ago, more or less, he learned by the reading of it, that the doings of the Sixth Council in the condemnation of Honorius were nowise opposed to the notion of papal infallibility. The most reverend the present archbishop of Baltimore afterwards made honorable mention of him, and quoted somewhat from his dogmatic theology, from which it might appear that there was no difference between the opinion which he himself so stoutly defends, and that which, in my letter to him, I asserted to have been my brother's

Fide, so that there is no difference between vicars apostolic and the titular bishops set over those missions, except that the latter are *ordinary* and the former *extraordinary* vicars of the pope. *Die Römische Curie*. BANGEN. Munster, 1854. Page 263. After the Concordats have been done away, which will not be long after the infallibility of the pope is established, all episcopal sees will be at the disposal of the pope alone, *ad nutum*; and thenceforth all bishops will be vicars of the pope, liable to be removed at his nod—*ad nutum ejus*. Thus the church, from which civil society borrowed the form of representative government to which it owes the rights it has acquired, will exhibit an example of absolutism, both in doctrine and administration, carried to the highest pitch. A right reverend orator said, no long time since, that the papal power is, in government, absolute indeed, but not arbitrary; because it is always guided by reason—which evidently implies that the pope is *impeccable*. In fact, this is necessarily inferred from his infallibility; for infallibility is a quality of the intellect, and the intellect is affected by the character.

opinion. I have a few things to say of each of these bishops.

I might prefer a serious complaint against the archbishop of Baltimore for having presented in a garbled and mutilated form, from this rostrum, the passage which has lately so often been brought before the public. My brother's complete sentence is as follows:

“On the other hand, that way of speaking is not to be approved, according to which the pope is declared to be infallible *of himself alone*; for scarcely any Catholic theologian is known to have claimed for him as a private teacher the privilege of inerrancy. Neither as pope is he alone, since to him teaching, the college of bishops gives its adhesion, which, it is plain, has always happened.”

Thus far the archbishop of Baltimore quotes. The words immediately following on these he thinks best to omit, although, as will at once be manifest, they are absolutely necessary to the full expression of the writer's meaning:

“But no orthodox writer would deny that pontifical definitions accepted by the college of bishops, whether in council or in their sees, either by subscribing decrees, or by offering no objection to them, have full force and infallible authority.”

These words leave no doubt of the mind of the writer. Hereafter they should not be omitted when the previous sentence is quoted, lest a false impression of his sentiments be conveyed.

It is clear that this is no chance utterance of his

opinion, from what he says in that English work of his from the reading of which his eminence the archbishop of Dublin testified that he had derived such great profit. I read from the work itself belonging to the library of the English college in this city. I give a closely literal Latin version, lest I weaken the force of it by being ambitious of elegance:

[The extract, as it here follows, is from the original English.]

“The personal fallibility [of the pope] in his private capacity, writing or speaking, is freely conceded by the most ardent advocates of papal prerogatives, but his official infallibility *ex cathedrâ* is strongly affirmed by many:/* while some, as the French Assembly of 1682, contend that his judgment may admit of amendment, as long as it is not sustained by the assent and adhesion of the great body of bishops. Practically there is no room for difficulty, since all solemn judgments hitherto pronounced by the pontiff have received the assent of his colleagues; and in the contingency of a new definition it should be presumed by the faithful at large that it is correct, AS LONG AS THE BODY OF BISHOPS DO NOT REMONSTRATE OR OPPOSE IT.”†

V. Before proceeding to other points, I feel bound to say that I do not agree in all respects with my brother’s opinion, which, I am aware, is the common opinion of theologians. The assent of the church

[* In a foot-note, the writer here presses additional charges of misquotation, which it seems unnecessary to reproduce here.]

† KENRICK. *Primacy of the Apostolic See*, Philadelphia, 1845, p. 357.

dispersed, as the phrase is, I consider to have a negative rather than a positive authority. The church, whether dispersed or assembled in Council, can not assent to any error that *contradicts* revealed truth; otherwise, the gates of hell might be said to have prevailed against it. Nevertheless it has the divine assistance, in THOSE THINGS ALONE which were taught by Christ to the apostles, all which things—that is, all revealed truth—"all things whatsoever I have told you"—the Holy Spirit brought to their recollection by illuminating their minds with his own divine light (for this is the end to which he is given) rather than by revealing new things. In order that the apostles and their successors may bear testimony of these things as ear-witnesses, it is necessary that they should be unable to approve, even by silence, of any opinion contradictory to them.

But when the question is on a new definition of faith, I consider that a Council which truly represents the church universal is of necessity required. For it is there alone that inquiry can be made, in case any doubt should arise. In certain matters only, and in these only under favorable circumstances, may silence be taken for assent; but not in all matters, especially when dissent might turn out to be either useless or perilous. Take the present controversy, for example. If the pope had thought fit to define himself as infallible in the sense of the *schema*, there would have been no opportunity given for the great investigation which we have seen instituted, now that the Council is convened and the

bishops assembled, affording light and courage to each other. Very few of those who have stood out so stoutly against the new definition, in the most difficult circumstances, would have ventured to resist the pope, or, if they had had the courage for that, would have known where to lay their hands on weapons fit and effective for the protection of their rights, so gravely imperilled.

A signal instance in proof that the silence of the church is not, at least in all cases, to be taken for consent, is supplied by the history of the opinion concerning the power of the Roman pontiff against realms not subject to his government. For four centuries after the bull *Unam Sanctam*,* this opinion prevailed. I am not aware that any document is extant which shows that there was any remonstrance against it except on the part of persons who suffered some damage from it; and these must be considered as having demurred not so much to the power as to the exercise of it to their injury. From the fulmination of the bull of Boniface VIII., down to the beginning of the seventeenth century—for four whole centuries—this definition of the papal power seems to have been in force, and was said even by the most learned theologians of the seventeenth century to be matter of faith. I once used to think that the language of the bull *Unam Sanctam* was capable of being reconciled with the view I then held of papal infallibility. But I do not now think so. It used to seem to me a special act of divine providence which

[* Fulminated A. D. 1302.]

had kept the pope from declaring all mankind to be subject to him in temporals, by reason of sin ; but on more mature reflection I saw that this explanation was a mere subterfuge, utterly unworthy of an honest man. Words derive their meaning from the intent of the speaker and the acceptation of the hearers. No man can deny that the purpose of Boniface in that bull was to claim for himself temporal power, and to propound this opinion to the faithful, to be held under pain of damnation. No man can deny that the words of the bull were received in this sense by all then living. If it was withstood by the subjects of Philip the Fair, these were extremely few in number compared to the whole of Christendom, for it was only a little part of modern France that was under his sceptre, and these few may be considered as having opposed rather the exercise of the power than its divine right. The church, then, through all that period seems to have approved by its assent the bull *Unam Sanctam*, hardly a single bishop having objected to it.

But at the present time the opinion so solemnly enunciated in that bull is repudiated by all, not excepting even the most ardent advocates of papal infallibility. I summon certainly a most unimpeachable witness in this case, namely, his grace the most reverend Martin John Spalding, archbishop of Baltimore, who, in a work (of which I shall have more particular occasion to speak hereafter) printed at Baltimore in 1866, after three other editions of the same had been exhausted and this fourth edition

had been issued to meet the demand of the faithful, speaks as follows :

“ But the papacy invested itself with temporal power ; and in the middle ages it claimed the right to depose princes, and to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance. Be it so ; what then ? Was this accession of temporal power ever viewed as an essential prerogative of the papacy ? Or was it not considered merely as an accidental appendage, the creature of peculiar circumstances ? Are there any examples of such alleged usurpations during the first ten centuries of its history ? Has this power been exercised, or even claimed, by the Roman pontiffs for the last three centuries ? If these two facts are undoubted—as they certainly are—then how maintain that a belief in the papacy involves a recognition of its temporal power ? The latter was never, certainly, a *doctrine* of the church. If it was, where is the proof ?—where the church definition that made it a doctrine ?* Five leading Catholic universities (Sorbonne, Louvain, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca) when officially called on by Mr. Pitt, prime minister of Great Britain, (1788,) solemnly and unanimously disclaimed this opinion and maintained the contrary. Did the Catholic church, did the popes, ever rebuke them for the disclaimer ? Do not Catholics all over

* Here the author is certainly mistaken. It does not require a definition to constitute a doctrine. It is enough that there should be truth divinely revealed, and propounded as such to the faithful by the ordinary magistry of the church. But that power was propounded as a doctrine by Boniface VIII., when he declared that it must be held by all “ *sub salutis dispendio*. ” Furthermore, Suarez has it for a defined doctrine.

the world now almost unanimously disclaim it? and are they the less Catholic for this? I fearlessly assert—and I do so advisedly—that there are very few Catholics at the present day who do not reject this opinion; that there are still fewer who maintain it; and that it is not defended, at least publicly,* even in Rome itself.†”

The tacit assent of the bishops, therefore, for no less than four centuries, did not have the effect to constitute the opinion of the power of the popes in temporals into a doctrine of the Catholic faith, which is obvious of itself, since otherwise the rejection of it now would be equivalent to defection from the unity of the Catholic church.

In this opinion two things are to be distinguished: the power itself, and the reason of the power. The power itself had its ground in circumstances; and for the most part it tended to the public good. The reason of the power was not, as the popes asserted, divine authority, divinely granted to them as holding the primacy in the church; but it originated in circumstances, by the consent of Christendom. It was recognized by public law, and was, so far, legitimate. It was vested in the popes, not because as popes they had received it from Christ, but because there was no one else who could exercise it at that time, when the need for it arose. In ascribing it to the ordinance of God, the popes were laboring under

* The expression is too incautious.

† Lectures on the Evidences of Catholicity. By M. J. Spalding, D. D., Archbishop of Baltimore. Fourth edition, 1866, pp. 377, 378.

something of human infirmity—a fact with which it would be unjust to reproach them. That it has now fallen into desuetude is admitted by all. Few persons think of it as a thing possible to be revived; although this may not be impossible, if the pope is to be held infallible, and if we may put confidence in the words of the most reverend archbishop of Westminster, in a speech delivered by him at London some years ago, before his promotion to the episcopate.

This distinguished man asserted in that speech—if I remember correctly what I read in the newspapers, and I certainly am not mistaken as to the substance of it—that the pope, as Christ's vicegerent, ought to be a king; and that the fact of his having been for centuries without secular dominion was no argument against this assertion, for he had always possessed the right to it. If this is true, (which I vehemently deny) it follows that the pope possesses not only the petty domain of his Roman territory, but a sort of universal right over the whole world. Since Christ is king of kings, the pope, who as his representative ought to be a king (according to the archbishop of Westminster,*) ought to repre-

[* The opinions of Abp. Manning, as the representative and leader of the now victorious party in the Roman Catholic church, are of some interest to American citizens. A more recent utterance of his is quoted by Quirinus (p. 832) from a sermon of his in 1869. Speaking in the pope's name, he says: "I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms—I am the sole last supreme judge of what is right and wrong."]

sent him throughout the whole realm of Christ himself : that is, throughout the entire world. We know what a happy talent for drawing inferences, even out of figures of speech, is shown by the advocates of papal authority. What if they have for a premise so pregnant a principle as this of the archbishop of Westminster ? It can be no more of an objection to this right that for a number of centuries it was never claimed, than that for many centuries from the beginning it was not possessed, and even that no one dreamed of its belonging to the pope. I refer to this not to excite prejudice against this eminent man, but in order to show him that the consequence which necessarily follows from a principle evidently erroneous, the falsity of which I shall try to prove in the course of this speech—a consequence which he himself would reject—ought to make him cautious not to know more than it is worth while to know about papal infallibility.

For these reasons I am compelled to differ from what is at least a common way of speaking, when the question rises about defining some new dogma of the Catholic faith. It is my opinion that this can not be done without a Council truly representing the church universal.

I now return to the subject, with which, after all, what I have said is by no means disconnected.

VI. There is no great difference, if perchance there is any, between my brother's opinion and that expressed by the most reverend Martin John Spalding, archbishop of Baltimore, in his History of the

Reformation ; from the fifth edition of which, revised by the author and published at Baltimore in 1866, I quote the following, which I translate into Latin with the same fidelity as I did my brother's language. I premise that it had first appeared twenty-six years before, and that it was originally written in reply to the History of the Reformation by D'Aubigné. This book is to be found in the hands of almost all the Catholics in the United States, not only on account of the amount of information which it contains and the familiar style in which it is written, but also on account of the high esteem in which the author is held among us, as the occupant of the primatial see, and as a man of wide celebrity for learning and genius. This fifth edition appeared in the same year in which he drew up, in the name of the Council of Baltimore, a letter to the pope, from which both he and others would have it inferred that the bishops of the United States favor the designs of the infallibilists. It is contained in the library of the American College in this city, having been presented by the author, with his name in it in his own handwriting, in 1867, when he was at Rome ; on which occasion he, with the other bishops, signed a letter to the pope, surely with no intention of settling or enunciating a doctrine, but only of manifesting their own veneration and affection towards the pope. The archbishop of Baltimore's words are as follows :

“ In what, in fact, consists the difference between the authoritative teaching of the first body of Christ's ministers, the apostles, and that body of pastors who

by divine commission succeeded them in the office of preaching, teaching, and baptizing, and who in the discharge of these sacred duties were promised the divine assistance all days, even to the consummation of the world? And if the latter was opposed to rational liberty, why was not the former? Besides, we learn, for the first time, that the Roman Chancery* decided on articles of faith. We had always thought that this was THE EXCLUSIVE PROVINCE OF GENERAL COUNCILS, and when they were not in session, of the Roman pontiffs WITH THE CONSENT OR ACQUIESCEANCE OF THE BODY OF BISHOPS DISPERSSED OVER THE WORLD. We had also in our simplicity believed that even these did not always decide on controverted points, but only in cases in which the teaching of revelation was clear and explicit; and that in other matters they wisely allowed a reasonable latitude of opinion. But D'Aubigné has taught us better! He would have us to believe that Roman Catholics are bound hand and foot, body and soul, and that they are not allowed even to reflect."†

It remains to say a few words of my brother's

* Perhaps D'Aubigné wrote *Curia* and the mistake occurred in the translation. [Abp. Kenrick's note.]

† History of the Reformation by Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore. Fifth revised edition. Baltimore, 1866. Vol. I., page 318. [The quotation as above given is from the original English. Early in the Council a misfortune befell Abp. Manning, in all respects similar to this of Abp. Spalding. The following extract was produced from a catechism widely used and authorized in England, and praised by Manning's own journal, *The Tablet*: "Q. Are not Catholics bound to believe that the pope is in himself infallible? A. This is a PROTESTANT INVENTION, and is no article of Catholic belief." Quirinus, 97.]

views about the case of Honorius. It is no wonder that, educated at the College of Urban, and being full of zeal for the Holy See, he should have judged him very mildly. For the case was not of any such importance before the rise of the present controversy, and therefore had not been so thoroughly cleared up as it now is. I take this opportunity to say a word of the bishop of Rottenburg's * opinion expressed in his profoundly learned History of Councils. The archbishop of Dublin, who has perhaps acquired his information from the French translation instead of from the work itself, says that there will be some difficulty in reconciling this opinion with that which the bishop of Rottenburg now advocates. A year ago I read the original work, and it was from that that I first learned—what my own examination has since confirmed—that the letters of Honorius to Sergius do contain some things which cannot be reconciled with sound doctrine.

VII. It was with great delight that I listened to the recent speech of the archbishop of Westminster in this assembly. I was at a loss which most to admire, the eloquence of the man, or his fiery zeal in moving, or rather commanding us to enact the new definition. The lucid arrangement of topics, the absolute felicity of diction, the singular grace of elocution, and the supreme authority and candor of mind which were resplendent in his speech, almost extorted from me the exclamation, “*Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses!*” And yet, while I listened, I

[* Bishop Hefele.]

could not help thinking of what used to be said of the English settlers in Ireland—that they were more Irish than the Irishmen. The most reverend archbishop is certainly more Catholic than any Catholic I ever knew before. He has no doubt himself of the infallibility—personal, separate, and absolute—of the pope, and he is not willing to allow other people to have any. He declares it to be a doctrine of faith, and he does not so much demand as he does predict, that the Vatican Council shall define it as such; something perhaps in the style of those prophets who go to work to bring about the fulfilment of their own predictions. As for myself—whom the experience of well nigh sixty years, since I first began to study the rudiments of the faith, may perhaps have made as well informed upon this subject as one who has been numbered with the church for some twenty years—I boldly declare that that opinion, as it lies in the *schema* is not a doctrine of faith, and that it cannot become such by any definition whatsoever, even by the definition of a Council. We are the keepers of the faith committed to us, not its masters. We are teachers of the faithful intrusted to our charge, in just so far as we are witnesses.

The great confusion of ideas which prevails throughout this controversy seems to me to arise from an inaccurate notion of certain terms, and from the neglect of the distinction, which should never be lost sight of, between theology as a science, and the revealed truths of which it treats, as an object of our faith. Let me briefly explain my meaning.

All truths divinely revealed are to be believed with divine faith, which are propounded as such to the faithful by the church, whether in councils or through its ordinary government. Among these truths some are explicitly revealed, others implicitly. These last are to be restricted to those truths only which are necessarily connected with truths explicitly revealed, so that one who should deny the former would be held to have denied the latter also. Thus the church in its acts of definition is always a *witness*, and formulates a judgment only by *witnessing*. It condemns errors which openly *contradict* doctrines explicitly revealed, and besides these, errors opposed to corollaries *necessarily* deduced from such doctrines. It is the general opinion of theologians that it may happen that arguments of doubtful value shall be adduced in proof of truths of faith, even in General Councils; although in declaring the faith itself, the Councils cannot err. The reason is, that in *declaring* the faith—an act of which all bishops, learned and unlearned alike, are capable—the church acts as witness: in *proving* the faith, whether from reason or from Scripture, she sustains the part not so much of a witness as of a theologian.

It is within the limits above enunciated that that faith divinely revealed is contained, concerning which the church as witness is capable of pronouncing a formal judgment, and of anathematizing gainsayers as heretics. Among these truths explicitly or implicitly revealed, those which have been defined by a solemn judgment of the church are said to belong

to the Catholic faith, in distinction from those which, although revealed, and necessary to be believed, have not been enunciated or defined by decree of Council. But this distinction is merely scholastic, and implies no difference at all between the two kinds of truth, so far as respects the obligation of believing them.

Theology as a science is to be carefully distinguished from faith or the body of *credenda*. It sets forth the truths of faith in systematic order, and proves them, in its way of proving, either positively or scholastically, and deduces sundry conclusions from truths explicitly or implicitly revealed, which, for distinction's sake, are called theological conclusions. These conclusions, not being immediately and necessarily connected with revealed truths, so that the denial of them would be deemed a denial of those truths themselves, cannot be elevated to the rank of truths of faith, or propounded as such to the faithful at cost of their everlasting salvation. Propositions contradictory of them may be condemned as erroneous, but not as heretical.

In the Vatican Council, this distinction does not seem to have been observed. The result—a thing unknown hitherto in Councils—has been that the bishops are divided among diverse opinions, disputing, certainly not about doctrines of faith of which they are witnesses and custodians, but about opinions of the schools. The Council-chamber has been turned into a theological arena, the partisans of opposite opinions, not only on this question of the infal-

libility of the pope, but on other subjects, exchanging blows back and forth with the hot temper which is more common in theologians than in bishops, and is not becoming to either;* for all acknowledge the Roman pontiff, united with the body of bishops, to be infallible. Here we have a doctrine of faith. But not all acknowledge him to be infallible by himself alone; neither do all know what is meant by that formula; for different parties offer different interpretations of it. Here we have the opinions or views of the schools, about which (as is fair enough) there are all sorts of mutual contradictions.

It may be objected that by this line of argument I assail the definition of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin by the bull *Ineffabilis Deus*; since this opinion was for centuries freely denied by many, and was afterwards erected into an article of faith by the bull aforesaid, with the consent and applause of the body of bishops, as appears from their acts and writings, many of them having been present at the pontifical definition. Speaking for myself alone, I give the following frank reply, which perhaps will meet the approval neither of my friends nor of others. For a fuller reply, I refer to my Observations, in the *Synopsis*,† the sum of which is as

[* Compare with this expression Archbishop Manning's solemn declaration as to what did *not* occur—"scenes of indecent clamor and personal violence, *unworthy even in laymen, criminal in bishops of the church.*" *Petri Privilegium*, 3. 28. The coincidence of expression is curious, one bishop giving the facts as they happened, and the other the facts as they did not happen.]

† *Synopsis Observationum*, pp. 234-238.

follows: I admit that the blessed Virgin Mary through the singular favor of God, and in view of the merits of her Son Jesus Christ, was kept in her conception from all guilt of Adam's sin. I do not deny that this sentiment belongs to the deposit of faith; nevertheless, I have never been able to discover it therein, so far as that deposit is set forth in the Scriptures and the writings of the fathers; neither have I ever found the man who could show it to me there. The assent of "the Church Dispersed" (as it is called) proves that the definition to which that assent is given is not in contradiction to any revealed truth; since, as I have already remarked, the church, whether in council or dispersed, can tolerate nothing which contradicts the faith. The pious opinion was always cherished among the faithful—an affection which the church encouraged, and by the institution of the Feast of the Conception, almost sanctioned. But it never delivered it as a doctrine of faith, and popes have strictly forbidden that the opposite opinion should be branded with the mark of heresy by its opponents. If any one should deny that it is a doctrine of faith, I do not see what answer could be made to him; for he would reply that the church could not so long have tolerated an error contrary to truth divinely revealed, without seeming either ignorant of what the deposit of faith contained or tolerant of manifest error.

VIII. I now proceed to show that the opinion of the infallibility of the pope in the sense of the *schema*, whether true or false, is not a doctrine of faith, and

cannot be propounded as such to the faithful, even by the definition of a Council.

Definitions of faith are not incitements to devotion, much less are they the triumphal exaltation of the opinions of schools of theology, according as one or another of these gets the upper hand. They are authoritative expositions of the doctrines of faith, generally designed to guard against the subterfuges of innovators, and they never impose upon believers a new faith.

This being settled, I say that the infallibility of the pope is not a doctrine of faith.

1. It is not contained in the symbols of the faith; it is not presented as an article of faith in the catechisms; and it is not found as such in any document of public worship. Therefore the church has not hitherto taught it as a thing to be believed of faith; as, if it were a doctrine of faith, it ought to have delivered and taught it.

2. Not only has not the church taught it in any public instrument, but it has suffered it to be impugned, not everywhere, but, with the possible exception of Italy, almost everywhere in the world, and that for a long time. This is proved by a witness above all impeachment—the approbation of Innocent XI. twice conferred upon Bossuet's *Exposition of the Faith*, a work in which not only no mention of this doctrine occurs, but in which the notion is plainly referred to in the remarks upon matters in dispute among theologians, on which opinion is free.

To speak only of the English-speaking nations, it

may be observed that in no one of their symbolical or catechetical works is this opinion found set down among truths of faith.

The whole supply of books treating of faith and piety, down to the beginning of the present century, and later, has been imported into Ireland and the United States from England. In many of them the opposite opinion is given. In none of them is the opinion itself found as a matter of faith. A year ago, indeed, in England and the United States, there came out sundry books—two or three of them to my knowledge—intended to prepare men's minds to receive the opinion as belonging to the faith. As for that one which was published in the United States, and afterwards translated into French and German,* written by a pious and extremely zealous but ignorant man, I may say that it abounded in such grave blunders, at least in the first edition in English, as to excite more laughter than indignation in others beside me, holding different opinions on the pending question. When I was solicited by the author to give some sort of commendation to the little book, which is measurably damaging to the bishops, I did not wish to trouble the good man with a debate, and so, in an unguarded moment, I promised him the charity of silence.

It was known, indeed, among us that the school of theologians commonly called by us *Ultramontanes*, upheld the opinion of papal infallibility in a sense

[* The writer here refers to a work on The Infallibility of the Pope by the Rev. Father Weninger, S. J., of Cincinnati.]

more favorable to papal privileges than the other theologians. And that opinion, after the translation into English of the distinguished Joseph De Maistre's work on The Pope, widely prevailed among among clergy and laity, and still prevails, yet not as a doctrine of faith, but as a free opinion which seems to have in its favor important reasons and weighty names. But to return to the point.

For almost two centuries there has been in use among English-speaking Catholics a little book entitled, "*Roman-catholic Principles in Reference to God and the King.*" So widely circulated is this little book, that from 1748 to 1813 were printed thirty-five editions of it, in a separate form; besides that, being very brief, it was often appended to other works. The Very Reverend Vicar Apostolic Coppinger, in England, at the opening of the present century, had it printed twelve times over; and another vicar apostolic, Walmesley, a man of the highest erudition, left his written opinion of this book, commending it to his friends for its clearness and good judgment. On the present question it speaks as follows:

"It is no matter of faith to believe that the pope is in himself infallible, separated from the church, even in expounding the faith. By consequence papal definitions or decrees, in whatever form pronounced, taken exclusively from a General Council or universal acceptance of the church, oblige none, under pain of heresy, to an interior assent."*

* *Roman-catholic Principles. etc.* Kirk's edition, Butler's Historical Memoirs, vol. 4, Appendix, p. 501.

The work is printed in full in the Appendix to Charles Butler's Historical Memoirs, which may be found in the library of the English college in this city.

We have with us a witness from the United States of North America, in the person of the most reverend archbishop of Baltimore, who has expressed his opinion on this point, not in the historical work from which I have quoted, which, as likely to meet the eye of other than Catholic readers, might seem, perhaps, to permit a more liberal explanation of the subject; but in a lecture delivered to the faithful in his own cathedral church, while he was bishop of Louisville. To the great benefit of the church, he collected the lectures into a volume, and published them. The volume has been often reprinted, and a copy of the fourth edition, printed at Baltimore in 1866, is preserved in the library of the American college in this city, having been presented to the library by the author, with an inscription in his own handwriting, in the year 1867, when he was here.

He delivers many admirable arguments on the infallibility of the church; then, refuting the objections commonly made against it, he says:

“Do we mean to say that even the pope is impeccable or infallible in his private and individual capacity? No Catholic divine ever so much as dreamed of saying or thinking so. Do we mean to say that the pope, viewed in his public and official capacity, when he speaks out as the organ and visible head of the church, is gifted with infallibility?

No Catholic divine ever defended his infallibility, even under such circumstances, unless when the matters on which he uttered his definitions were intimately connected with the doctrines of faith and morals, and when, if he should be permitted by God to fall into error, there would be danger of the whole church being also led astray. Those numerous and learned Catholic theologians who maintain the infallibility of the Roman pontiff in this particular case, consider it as if matter of *opinion* more or less certain, not as one of Catholic *faith*, [the Italics are by the archbishop himself,] defined by the church and obligatory on all. Though not an article of Catholic faith, it is, however, the general belief among Catholics; and I myself am inclined strongly to advocate its soundness, chiefly on account of the intimate connection between the pontiff and the church, as will be shown in a subsequent lecture. Still, it is an opinion, for all this, and no Catholic would venture to charge the great Bossuet, for example, with being wanting in orthodoxy for denying it, while he so powerfully and so eloquently established the infallibility of the Church.”*

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the scholastic distinction between “doctrines of the faith” and “doctrines or dogmas of the Catholic faith,” cannot be brought in to break the force of the conclusion, derived from sources so numerous and so important,

* Lectures on the Evidences of Catholicity, delivered in the Cathedral of Louisville, by M. J. Spalding, D. D., Archbishop of Baltimore. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. Baltimore, 1866. Pp. 263-4.

that the opinion of the infallibility of the pope has not been delivered to the faithful as a thing to be believed with divine faith. This notion is never mentioned except when it becomes necessary to refer to it in meeting the objections of opponents, and it is always asserted that it does not belong to the faith. It is not to be admitted that in those circumstances, men of the weightiest character, distinguished with the office of priest or bishop, would have made use of verbal quibbles which it would be hardly possible for their opponents to understand ; such a quibble would be that scholastic distinction between a doctrine of the faith and a dogma of the Catholic faith. The bishop of Elphin said, in reply to the archbishop of Cincinnati, that Catholics had not denied the opinion of the infallibility of the pope as a doctrine of faith, but had denied that it was a dogma of the Catholic or defined faith. If this is true, which I by no means believe, the reproach is justly and deservedly to be applied to us, that in a matter of the gravest consequence we have not been ashamed to hide our meaning by making use of scholastic distinctions.

It remains now to speak of the faith of the church of Ireland.

In that very learned speech of his, which remains thus far unanswered, and, as I confidently predict, will continue to be unanswered, the right reverend bishop of St. Augustine in North America (than whom no man in this assembly is more worthy of the respect due, at all times, and from all persons whatsoever, to the Episcopal dignity) remarked that the

Irish Catholics believe their own priests infallible, and therefore (as he asserted) it was no wonder that they should consider the pope of Rome infallible. It seemed to some that he was using an exaggerated expression, rather in joke than in earnest.

And yet it is perfectly true, and so far from being a reproach to Irishmen, it is a very great honor to them, and in the highest degree agreeable to Catholic principles. The Irish think their priests infallible because they receive them as the ministers of the infallible church, and therefore as in accordance with it in their sermons to the people. In just that sense and no other, although with even a greater reverence, on account of his higher rank in the hierarchy of the church, they accept the pope of Rome as infallible. I admit that in many respects they are inferior to other nations; but in this they yield to none—that they are most devoted to the Catholic faith, and most loyal in their obedience to the see of Rome. In both respects that may be said of them which was inscribed by Louis XVI. on the standard of some of them, who had served as mercenaries under the title of the Irish Brigade in his army and in those of his predecessors from Louis XIV.'s time—that they were "*semper et ubique fideles.*" But that they have any intelligent knowledge of the question now under discussion, or are capable of forming an opinion about it, is too ridiculous to need refuting. This is true of the meeting lately held at Cork, of which the bishop of Cashel spoke at the opening of his very neat speech; since it is open to doubt whether the

right reverend bishop of Cork himself, who was said to have presided at the meeting, understood the subject; for there are a good many in this assembly of ours who are in doubt up to this moment what is meant by papal infallibility, whether it is to follow the words of the *schema*, or in preference that mitigated interpretation which the archbishop of Malines, following the example of the bishop of Poitiers, introduced into his explanation. For those cunning men who are the real authors of the *schema*—I do not mean the bishops; whom I do mean will appear before long—well knew that there were many of the fathers who would accept, without being in the least startled, the mitigated explanation (which, nevertheless, had not yet been introduced into the *schema*) and, without thinking, would vote for the definition in the form set forth in the *schema*, at least for substance; whom perhaps a clearer statement of the sense of it would have found in the attitude of dissent from it. But to return to our own people.

The question before us is not about the faith of the people, but about the judgment of prelates and doctors. I do not deny that, at the present time, the episcopate and clergy of Ireland, with the exception of a few distinguished names, is inclined in favor of the notion of papal infallibility; although I have had no means of finding out their opinions, except what this opportunity at Rome has furnished me. But from the beginning it was not so; in evidence of which I cite the well-nigh universal approbation with which the contrary opinion was set forth

in writings from the pens of the most eminent men--who seemed to be pillars, as I might say, of the Irish church--during my youth, and since, being come to manhood, I was advanced to the priesthood. These writings were edited and published repeatedly by a man of consummate learning, of still greater genius, of most fervent piety, and of a zeal for souls truly apostolic, adorned with the episcopal dignity—I mean the Right Reverend James Doyle, bishop of Kildare and Leighlen, and by the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, a priest of the order of St. Francis, and seem to have had the approbation of every one. Besides these, we have the answers of Archbishops Murray and O'Kelly of Dublin and Tuam, and of the aforesaid bishop of Kildare and Leighlen, to the questions put to them by a committee of the British Parliament, in March, 1825.

All these, translated into Latin, with the original text annexed, may be found in the appendix to this speech. They leave no room for doubt what was the opinion of the Irish bishops at that time. The same will be manifest from the resolutions of the bishops of all Ireland presented to the Holy See in 1815, which, although they do not pertain to the present controversy, like the answers before mentioned, do show that the opinion which is said to be now prevalent has not always obtained.* If the matters cited

[* These documents may be found in full, in Latin and English, at the close of Kenrick's speech as reprinted in the *Doc. ad Illustr. Conc. Vat.* It has not seemed necessary to reproduce them in this edition.]

from the synod of Turles seem to have a different sound, perhaps it happened there, as it did at the second synod of Baltimore, that everything was done according to the nod of the apostolic legate;* especially as no question arose there except questions of discipline, and no occasion was afforded to say or to decree anything on the rights of the bishops, as at the assembly held in 1815, or on the enlargement, in words at least, of the authority of the Holy See.

As to the clergy, I confidently deny that on this point they differed from the bishops. For whence should they have derived a contrary opinion? Surely not from the seminaries in France and Spain, in which, before the founding of Maynooth college in Ireland, about the end of the last century, the majority pursued their theological studies, and from which they would have brought home with them the undoubted sentiments of those famous schools, and not others. But in Maynooth college, the theological lecturers from the beginning were almost all Frenchmen; and their treatises, for a long time after their death, were, by college ordinance, placed in the hands of the students. I was myself present at the beginning of the change in the sentiment of that famous college—if indeed there has been a change, of which I have no knowledge except by conjecture; and along with me was the bishop of Cashel and the bishop of Clonfert, who was but lately here; all of us at that time walked together with one accord in that home

* Appendix A.

consecrated to learning and religion. This was the occasion, to which it will perhaps not be useless to refer.

Almost forty years have passed since I there pursued the study of theology under the learned John O'Hanlon, then lecturer in theology, now professor of higher theological science in the same college. The treatise *De Ecclesiâ* by that man of venerated memory, Delahogue, one of the French *émigrés* in the time of the great Revolution, contained nothing on the infallibility of the pope except a thesis conceived in these or like words: "that the infallibility of the pope is not matter of faith."

In 1831, the aforesaid lecturer on theology, O'Hanlon, of his own accord gave us the thesis. "The pope speaking *ex cathedrâ* is infallible," not in order to convince us of it, but to give us the opportunity of becoming acquainted with this weighty opinion, by the reasons in favor of it, adduced from various quarters. If I remember aright, he did not express his own opinion or press us to accept either side of this disputed question. I confess that I was one of those who took the affirmative. But the new and hitherto unheard-of procedure did not meet the approval of all the professors, one of whom, the lecturer on Holy Scripture, who afterwards came to be president of the college, expressed his displeasure in pretty plain terms to my classmate, now bishop of Clonfert, from whom I learned the fact. We have with us in this Council a most respected man, who used to be a theological instructor in that college for years before I entered it, who is justly and deservedly esteemed the

Nestor of the Irish episcopate, since he has known well nigh three generations of men, and who to eminent learning in theology unites the fame of elegant literary culture ; he was well acquainted with the prelates whom I have mentioned, and with other learned men whose names, "*clara et venerabilia*," are written in the hearts and the calendars of the Irish people. With singular moderation this eminent man refrained from uttering himself on this subject; so that the archbishop of Dublin did not hesitate to speak for him and impress him into his party; while those who think with me, and had known him, and who had hoped to see him fighting in our ranks, were grieved to see him, like another Achilles, sitting apart from us. It filled me with quite unexpected delight when I heard him say that in judgments of faith the head should be joined with the body—not as the archbishop of Westminster would have it, that the head should drag the body to itself by communicating to it its own infallibility, but that head and body, by bearing joint testimony to the faith once delivered to the saints, should make unanimous declaration of the same. As he came down from the platform, I congratulated him with the words, "You have vindicated Ireland." If witnesses to the faith of the Irish are to be weighed—which is the fair way—instead of counted, the most reverend archbishop of Tuam may well be offset, as a matter of mere testimony, against the rest of the Irish bishops, not even excepting the archbishop of Dublin.*

[* "The infallibilist speaker who created most sensation was

The bishop of Galway says that the Catholics in Ireland and England were admitted to equal rights with Protestants, not on account of the oath which all, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, were for years obliged to take, but because those in charge of the English government were afraid of civil war unless that concession were made. In this he spoke the truth; but it was nothing to the point; and the true cause of the truth which he uttered seemed to be quite unknown to him.

The papal power has always been excessively odious to the British government. Now if it were a doctrine of faith that the pope is infallible, it could be shown that Protestants had understood the papal power better than English and Irish Catholics themselves. For they knew that the popes of Rome had claimed supreme power in temporal things, and had attempted to dethrone more than one English monarch by dispensing his subjects from their oaths of allegiance.

Cardinal Cullen, archbishop of Dublin. He gained the warm applause of his party by the aggressive tone of his speech, in which he attacked especially Hefele and Kenrick. He appealed to the testimony of Mac Hale [Archbishop of Tuam] to show that the mind of Ireland has always been infallibilist—a glaring falsehood, as is proved by the famous Declaration of the Irish Catholics in 1757, formally repudiating the doctrine. And it made no slight impression when the gray-haired Mac Hale rose to repudiate the pretended belief in infallibility, not merely for himself, but for Ireland." Quirinus, 557. Wherever this Speech of Kenrick's throws light upon the severest things said in Quirinus and *Ce qui se passe au Concile*, etc., it confirms them. Witness the very next page of Quirinus: "When Cullen replied to the archbishop of St. Louis, 'non est verum' ['it is n't true!'] the aged prelate requested leave of the legates to defend himself briefly. It was refused. Compare above, p. 95.]

Over and over again, the Catholics had denied, under their solemn oath, that this power belonged to the pope of Rome within the realm of England. If they had not done this, they never would have been, and never ought to have been, admitted to the privilege of civil liberty. How it is possible for the faith thus pledged to the British government to be reconciled with the definition of papal infallibility, when it is certain that the popes have often with great solemnity declared that the right belonged to them, and have never renounced it, those of the Irish bishops may look to, who, like myself, have taken the oath in question. It is a knot which I cannot untie. *Davus sum, non Oedipus.* Notwithstanding these things, civil liberty was granted to the Catholics by men who had fought stoutly against it all their lives long. They feared civil war, indeed, but they did not dread it in this sense, that a war of this sort could be damaging to the power of the government in any other way than as a temporary interruption of the public peace. They feared the fact of war—not the issue of it; what that would have been, no man of sense could doubt. Those illustrious men preferred rather to yield, than to triumph by the destruction of a renowned nation, and of a people who even in their errors (as they deemed them) were worthy of a better fate. Would that the moderation of mind showed by those men might be showed by the majority of the bishops who hear me, and that foreseeing the calamities that may come forth among us out of this ill-omened controversy, they might, in

this exigency that calls for the utmost moderation, avert from us who are less in number, but who represent a larger number of Catholics than our opponents—and not from us only, but from the Catholic world—calamities which cannot be anticipated without horror, and which a tardy repentance will be powerless to repair.

IX. I have something to say now on a case of conscience. The case is this, as you know: that the bishops should be reminded that a grave sin would be committed by any bishop who should vote in the affirmative on papal infallibility, without having personally and, as the phrase goes, “on his own hook,” made a thorough examination of the subject; when by that act a new yoke is imposed on the faithful, and the gravest inconveniences are by many thought likely to ensue from it.*

The archbishop of Westminster takes this very hardly, complaining of it as an outrage on the honor and dignity of the bishops; as if he held it impossible for bishops to err, or that they would be clear of all imputation of grave sin, if through carelessness or indolence they should neglect to form a right judgment on this business.

Can they acquiesce in an opinion which perhaps they have never weighed—following the statements of teachers in the seminaries, with the docility which is becoming in pupils towards the learned? The pamphlet by the most reverend archbishop of Edessa, commended to the pope by the eleven erudite

* See Quirinus, 621.

theologians, is perhaps to be taken as setting forth such weighty reasons in proof of the infallibility of the pope, that since no one ought to hesitate to put confidence in it, every one may safely accept its conclusions as so many truths placed beyond every chance of doubt. I am not denying the writer's learning; neither do I wish to call in question his good faith; but I can prove that in this matter he is not free from all error, and that thus far his authority is none too much to be trusted. Besides the example already alleged when I was speaking of the meaning of the text "On this rock," &c., I mention two others: one from the testimonies of the fathers, the other in the method of his argument.

Among the passages which he cites from the fathers is that very common text of St. Ambrose, which I subjoin, taken from pages 31 and 32:

"On Psalm 40, No. 30, he speaks as follows: 'It is Peter himself to whom he says, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church." Therefore where Peter is, there is the church; where the church is, there is no death, but life eternal. And therefore he adds, "And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Blessed Peter, against whom the gates of hell have not prevailed, nor the gates of heaven been closed, but who, on the contrary, has destroyed the vestibules of hell, and made clear those of heaven—who has opened heaven and shut up hell! Doubtless if where Peter is, (or where his successors, the popes, are, holding all the prerog-

atives of the primacy,) there the church is, and life eternal without peril of death, then the whole building of the church must necessarily be founded in their faith. Wherefore this must needs be indefectible, and so the gates of hell being vanquished, they themselves, embracing in the true faith all Christ's faithful, open to them the heavenly mansions.”

This passage was cited by the bishop of Orleans,* in his first letter, as one which might be objected to his position, and he there explained it in a sense consistent with his views, having no doubt that the text of Ambrose was to be received in some other sense than the obvious one, and that, really, it meant that the church was identified with Peter in the case of controverted points of faith, which, so far from denying, the bishop openly admitted. Among others who replied to this letter, was the learned Francesco Nardi, one of the Auditors of the Sacred Rota, and an officer of this Council. Yielding to love of truth rather than of party, he denies that the words of St. Ambrose have the meaning which the bishop of Orleans, among others, believed. I quote his words in the original Italian, so that no one may suspect that the meaning of them has been modified in translation. After giving the explanation of the bishop of Orleans, above referred to, he adds:

“Del resto il valore delle parole di S. Ambrogio (in psalm xl., *Enarr.* n. 30) non credo sia quello che indica lo illustre vescovo, e basta leggerne il contesto. Ivi trattasi della caduta di S. Pietro sanata

* Bishop Dupanloup.

da Cristo, e come Pietro in essa rappresenti il cristiano cadente, poi risorgente, per opera della Chiesa e di Cristo, senza dubbio quelle parole hanno un altro più ampio ed alto significato, ed è che Pietro più che contrasegno, è veramente il rappresentante della vera Chiesa e la sua immagine vivente e operante. Non credo che S. Ambrogio in quel luogo pensasse ad altre *chiese cristiane*, e come da esse si distingue la cattolica per la presenza e governo di Pietro.”*

“Furthermore, I do not think that the meaning of St. Ambrose’ words is that attributed to them by the illustrious bishop. The context settles it. The subject there is Peter’s fall restored by Christ; and since Peter represents therein the backsliding Christian afterwards recovered through the work of Christ and the church, undoubtedly the words have another and a far wider and deeper meaning, to wit, that Peter is more than a symbol—he is an actual representative of the true church, and its living and acting image. I do not think that St. Ambrose in that passage was thinking of *other Christian churches*, and of how the Catholic church is *distinguished* from them by the presence and government of Peter.”†

Monsignor Nardi is right, as I find by consulting the passage in Ambrose. I beg you to observe that

* Sulla ultima lettera di Monsignor Vescovo d’Orleans, osservazioni di Monsignor Francesco Nardi, Uditore di Sacra Rota. Seconda Edizione. Napoli, 1870.

† It is quite in the style of Ambrose thus devoutly and elegantly to identify Peter with the church. See lib. 1, cap. 4, *Lucæ*. Also lib. 5 in *Lucæ* cap. 5. Also the context just preceding the place above cited.

the passage was quoted to prove that Peter is identified with the church—which we all admit, but not in the sense of the *schema*. It is not quoted to prove that by the *rock* Ambrose understands the apostle, for this is not the point in question. Unless, in the place cited, the church is identified with Peter in the sense of the *schema*, it affords no argument in support of the *schema*. The same must be said of all the other quotations, not one of which explicitly gives that view, although the writer attempts, by dint of argument to extract it from them. This one example shows how dangerous it is blindly to follow others in quoting the fathers. A striking proof of this may be found in the appendix to this speech; although it does not relate to the pending question, it gives abundant proof of my assertion, and may serve the purpose I have in view.*

As an example of false inference, I take page 74, where the author tries to prove that the Council of Constance admitted that the pope was above the Council, a question which I will not go into at present. He proves it in this fashion :

[* In the appendix referred to, Abp. Kenrick speaks of having heard, twelve years ago, an Easter sermon in which the preacher said that the Lord after his resurrection appeared *first* to the blessed Virgin Mary—which is contrary to Mark 16:9. Inquiring further, he found the same assertion in a work of Pope Benedict XIV., who, while remarking that Estius declares the contrary, nevertheless *thought it better to stick to the pious tradition on this point, notwithstanding it is in open contradiction to the words of the evangelist!*

The remainder of this appendix is not important to the matter in hand; but the passage above quoted is wonderfully characteristic of Roman theology and devotion.]

"In the conciliar epistle, addressed to the German prelates, which Martin, '*sacro approbante Concilio*,' published against the errors of Wiclf and Huss, one of the articles set forth to be believed is this: That the pope is the head of the Catholic church. Therefore the pope bears the same relation to the church universal and to the general Council representing it as the head bears to the body. But from the head the body receives motion and every influence. Therefore, according to the Council of Constance itself, a general council receives all its power of governing the church, not immediately from Christ, but mediately, through the pope, the head of the church. But this cannot be reconciled with what is said in the decree of the fourth and fifth sessions, if the latter is to be received in the sense in which it is taken by the opposition."

The fallacy of the above reasoning is this: The pope is Christ's vicegerent in so far as Christ has conferred on him the power of representing Him as the visible head to the faithful. But in the foregoing argument Christ is supposed to have conferred on him the entire fulness of his own power, inasmuch as he is the head of the church, which is His body; a notion which is denied by the advocates of the opposite opinion. He who exercises a delegated power is not to be considered as having the entire power of the one delegating, but only just so much as can be proved, by the documents in the case, to have been conferred upon him. The church, therefore, may receive motion and every influence imme-

diately from Christ himself, the true head of the body, not through the medium of the visible head—that is, the Roman pontiff—unless it appears that Christ, in the government of his church, has reserved nothing to himself; which is supposed, but not proved, by the author of the *Lucubration*.

Speaking of the case of conscience, the archbishop of Baltimore asserted that examination was no less required to vote in the negative than in the affirmative on the question of papal infallibility. I think he was mistaken. He who refuses his consent to impose a new burden on the faithful contracts no obligation; while he who gives his consent (unless, under the force of reasons such as set aside all doubt, he should decide that the affirmative opinion is not only true, but also divinely revealed, and that it is expedient to propound it as such to the faithful to be believed) would be guilty of the most grievous sin. It is not true that by withholding his assent he affirms the four articles of the French Assembly, as the archbishop of Baltimore says—an assertion which seemed to me and to others unworthy of so honorable a man.

And now that that famous Assembly has been mentioned, and now that an acrimonious attack has been made by one of our right reverend orators on a man of eminent learning and character on account of his refutation of a so-called history of that Assembly, suffer me to say a word of both these books, which I have not only read but carefully compared with each other. The History of the Gallican

Assembly, which has been so bepraised, is in my judgment a very infamous libel, the author of which has sharpened his pen against the dead, disturbing the ashes of those who had no connection whatever with the Assembly, as well as of those who controlled and directed it.*

That he has made many mutilated quotations, which, by failing to give the whole text, insinuate falsehood even when they do not explicitly utter it, has been proved by the Abbé Loysen.† That learned man has exhibited these facts with the calmness of mind which is characteristic of him, and which, when compared with the temper of the other book, shows him to be a defender of truth and not an insinuator of falsehood. This accounts for the anger which he has stirred up on the part of his antagonists.

X. The archbishop of Westminster holds infallibility to be a spiritual gift, or *charisma*. If that is true, I agree to it in the case of the person making good his claim to the gift; for in the strict sense of the word it is predictable only of a *person*. The usage has prevailed, indeed, of predicating infallibility, of the church, but it would be better to use the word *inerrancy*.

God only is infallible. Of the church, the most that we can assert is, that it does not err in teaching

* Recherches Historiques sur l'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682, par M. Gérin.

† L'Assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682, d'après des documents dont un grand nombre inconnues jusqu'à ce jour, par l'Abbé I. Th. Loysen, Docteur et Professeur de Sorbonne. [The Abbé Loysen is a younger brother of the celebrated Father Hyacinthe.]

the doctrines of faith which Christ has committed to its charge ; because the gates of hell are not to prevail against it. Therefore infallibility absolute and complete cannot be predicated of it ; and perhaps it would be better to refrain from using that word, and use the word *inerrancy* instead. But the church's inerrancy does not seem to be a positive thing, infused into it from heaven—which could not be intelligently said of a “moral person” like the church—although it is always so aided by the grace of the Holy Spirit that it may faithfully keep and set forth the truths which Christ had taught. For this end it has a fit means—but not at all a miraculous means—in the tradition of the particular churches of which it consists. Therefore the inerrancy, or infallibility, of the church is not a *charisma* infused from heaven, as the archbishop of Westminster would have it, by which it may discover and distinguish truths divinely revealed. It is nothing else, in my opinion, than the tradition of the church divinely founded and kept by the divine indwelling, so that it shall not tolerate errors contradicting revealed truths and their immediate and necessary corollaries, nor propound to the faithful, by its supreme authority, anything that is not true.

As I was saying this, not long ago, a Catholic objected that infallibility though not a miraculous, was a supernatural gift ; that is, a grace annexed to the office of pope, by means of which, without any miraculous intervention of God he can discern true from false and revealed truth from natural.

Since the Roman pontiff, as bishop, has no other grace of ordination than his brethren who share the same Episcopal office, the supposed grace can only be a personal one. But that kind of grace does not preserve from error those even to whom it is granted in the largest measure, as appears from the saints who in the great schism were found on both sides, although eminent in virtue and splendid with the glory of miracles. If papal infallibility is a personal grace or *charisma*, as the archbishop of Westminster calls it, it demands a miraculous intervention of God, that the pope, when he means to define anything of faith or morals, may be kept free from error.

It may be shown in another way that this novel invention of the *charisma* ought to be rejected, from the consequences which it involves. Granting that infallibility is a *charisma*, in what does it differ from that special private inspiration by which certain persons think themselves led, and which is rejected by theologians on this precise ground, that no means is granted, outside of the person who considers himself to be led by the divine Spirit, by which it may be proved whether the spirit really is divine. Not one word will the archbishop of Westminster listen to, of fixing the conditions for the exercise of the pope's infallibility. He asserts that He who gave the *charisma* will give the means for its due exercise, or will bring it about that such means shall be used.

Verily this is a royal road to the discovery of the truths of faith! And yet it is not without its dangers both for pope and for church. Once imbued with

this conviction, the holier in life, the purer in purpose, the more fervent in piety the pope should be, the more dangerous he would prove both to himself and to the church, which (according to this system) derives its infallibility from him; especially would this be true if he should find even one of his advisers laboring under the same illusion. What need would there be, to a pope who accepted this notion, of the counsel of his brethren, the opinions of theologians, the investigation of the documents of the church? Believing himself to be immediately led by the divine Spirit, and that this Spirit is communicated through him to the church, there would be nothing to hold him back from pressing on in a course on which he had once entered. These consequences of the principle laid down by the archbishop of Westminster prove it to be false. Nevertheless if infallibility is a *charisma*, we must be able to follow out the fact to its conclusions.

XI. Among other things which utterly astounded me, it was said by the archbishop of Westminster that by the addition made at the end of the decree *De Fide*, passed at the third session, we had already admitted the doctrine of papal infallibility, at least by implication, and that we were no longer free to recede from it.*

* The addition was as follows: "Since it is not enough to avoid heretical gravity, unless at the same time those errors are diligently avoided which more or less tend to it, we warn all persons of the duty of observing also the constitutions and decrees in which such erroneous opinions, which themselves are not expressly enumerated, have been proscribed and prohibited by this Holy See."

If I rightly understand the right reverend relator of the committee, who, when this addition had once been moved in the General Congregation, then withdrawn, and finally, while we were wondering what the matter was, suddenly moved a second time, he said, in plain terms, that no doctrine at all was taught by it, but that it was placed at the end of the four chapters of which the decree was composed, in order to round them off handsomely;* and that it was rather disciplinary than doctrinal in its character. Either he was deceived, if what the archbishop of Westminster said was true; or else he intentionally led us into error—which we are hardly at liberty to suppose of so honorable a man. However it may have been, many of the bishops, confiding in his assurance, decided not to refuse their suffrages to the decree on account of that clause; while others, of whom I was one, were afraid that there was a trap set, and yielded reluctantly on this point to the will of others.†

In saying all this, it is not my intention to accuse any of the right reverend fathers of bad faith. I treat them all, as is meet, with due reverence. But it is said that we have among us, outside of the Council, certain “religious” men—who are perhaps pious as well as “religious”—who have a vast influence upon the Council; who, relying rather on trickery than on fair measures, have brought the interests of the church into that extreme peril from which it has risen; who at the beginning of the Council man-

[* “Imponi tanquam eis coronidem convenientem.”]

† Appendix, p. 171. See also above, p. 83.

aged to have no one appointed on the committees of the Council but those who were known or believed to be in favor of their schemes; who, following hard in the footsteps of certain of their predecessors, in the *schemata* that have been proposed to us, and which have come out of their own workshop, seem to have had nothing so much at heart as the depreciation of the authority of the bishops and the exaltation of the authority of the pope; and seem disposed to impose upon the unwary with twists and turns of expression, which may be differently explained by different persons. These are the men who have blown up this conflagration in the church; and they do not cease to fan the flame by spreading among the people their writings, which put on the outward show of piety, but are destitute of its reality.

With more zeal than knowledge, these excellent men would like to cover up the design of the divine Architect with another and, as they may think, a better and stronger one. For He had consulted at once for the unity of the whole, and the liberty of every part; nor had he conferred the entire fulness of his own power on the vicar appointed by himself; knowing what was in man, and not wishing that any one should have lordship over the *clergy*, that is, his “portion,” [κλῆρος] the church.

Already in vain the petition has been offered that this painful controversy might not be started in the Council. Equally in vain the petition has been urged that there might be no definition until after an examination which should leave no room for

doubt as to the testimony of tradition on this point. In order to such an examination, the request was presented, nearly three months ago, to their eminences the presidents of the general congregation, in a petition from prelates of distinguished sees, that there might be a committee of fathers, taken in equal number from each party, and appointed by the votes of those agreeing with them in opinion. This request was repeated over and over again by others in the General Congregation; and is said to have had the approval of some even of the advocates of papal infallibility. For the question is one which calls for an investigation of the records of the entire church, and should be dealt with in a calm rather than an excited temper. The archbishop of Dublin says, indeed, that such an examination would last too long—that it would reach till the day of judgment. If this be so, it were better to refrain from making any definition at all, than to frame one prematurely. But it is said the honor and authority of the Holy See demand a definition, nor can it be deferred without injury to both. I answer in the words of Jerome, substituting another word for the well-known word *auctoritas*.

MAJOR EST SALUS ORBIS QUAM URBIS *

I have done.

* It is better to save the world than the city.

APPENDIX A.

[SEE PAGE 148.]

SECOND PLENARY COUNCIL OF BALTIMORE.

THE remarks in the speech call for a brief statement of the facts which occurred in that Council. It commenced on the 7th of October, and closed on the 21st of the same month, each of these two days being Sunday. Besides the solemn sessions held on these days, there were two others on intermediate days, namely, the 11th and the 18th, only the latter of which was professedly a solemn session, although the other, dedicated to expiation for the souls of departed bishops, was an equal hinderance to the use at least of the whole day for the business of the Council; so that the business was confined to ten or eleven days. Within that brief space of time, there seem to have been passed the decrees which are contained in 274 pages of a volume of large size. All of them, indeed, had been prepared, in advance of the meeting of the Council, by the archbishop of Baltimore, with the coöperation of several theologians, and the aid of sundry bishops, of whom I was one.

The transactions of the first four days seemed to me hardly in accordance with the rules of Councils, and accordingly, on the 12th of October, in the Fifth Private Congregation, I offered the following decree,

in the hope that thereafter, at least, business might go on in a better way:

“ It has pleased the fathers that the decrees to be passed in this Council be offered drawn up in the form of synodic decrees, and that the sense of the fathers of each province be called for, in the order of consecration in that province. Furthermore, it has pleased them that mitred abbots be interrogated at the same time with the bishops in whose provinces their monasteries are situated, although their votes are not to be taken. The votes of the fathers, as soon as given, after the statement of their reason (if they wish to sustain that reason by showing the grounds thereof) shall be immediately recorded by the secretaries.”

The reason of the decree thus offered was two-fold. I wished that in voting the fathers might distinctly know what the question was—which, I thought, had not always happened in previous congregations.

Since the abbots had only an advisory voice, I wanted the bishops to be interrogated by provinces, and that after the bishops of each province, the abbots should manifest their views; so that those whose votes were still to be given might have the opportunity of knowing what the abbots thought. For what was the use of inviting them to the Council, if they were not to be allowed to express their opinion until after all the bishops had voted, when they could be of no use either to themselves or to anybody else?

The proposed decree was rejected, twelve yeas to

thirty-two nays; either because the matter was not well understood, or because the apostolic legate vehemently objected to it, and they did not like to displease him: or (as I think likely) because they had no hope that it would improve the course of business, and were unwilling to be compelled to remain longer away from their dioceses for no real advantage.

I then offered an exception which I had brought with me in writing, (foreseeing that the decree which I had proposed would not pass,) in the following or like terms :

“ The undersigned, archbishop of St. Louis, takes exception against all decrees passed or that may be passed in the present Council, which shall not have been drawn up in conciliar form and distinctly read to the fathers, and approved by a majority vote.

PETER RICHARD KENRICK,
ARCHBISHOP OF ST. LOUIS.

In offering this exception, I said that in order to avoid scandal to the faithful, I would sign the decrees, if that exception was recorded in the Acts of the Council, otherwise not. After some objection, on the part of the apostolic legate, to the wording of the exception in the form in which I first offered it, he consented to my request. But inasmuch as no change was made in the mode of transacting business in the Council, I abstained thenceforth from voting, except once or twice when my opinion was called for.

In the published acts of the Council my excep-

tion is not to be found—whether the apostolic legate had allowed himself this liberty, or whether, peradventure, he had been advised to it from higher quarters. For in the Acts, after it is reported that the decree offered by me was rejected, the record reads thus :

“The metropolitan of St. Louis offered a protest which the most reverend apostolic legate ordered to be reported in the Acts, and which has been transmitted with them to the holy pontiff, p. 72.”

In this way it has been brought about that the exception itself has been omitted, and I am made to appear as taking exception to the rejection of the decree which I had proposed, which would have been too ridiculous; when my exception was against the method of transacting business, which seemed to me not conciliar. My complaint is that the faith pledged to me was not kept. The Acts ought either to have been suppressed, or to have been given entire.

APPENDIX B.

[SEE PAGE 164.]

Out of the four committees, only that which is called the Committee on the Faith [*Deputatio de Fide*] has thus far done anything in the Council. It is composed of twenty-four bishops, elected by the Council. Some days before the election, printed lithograph tickets, headed with the inscription, “*In Honor of the Blessed Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*,” were distributed among the fathers, the name of His Eminence Cardinal De Angelis being quoted by the persons who ran these tickets, in a sort of recommendation of them. The bishops put in nomination by the pious getters-up of these tickets were almost to a man selected from those who were known not to be opposed to the definition of papal infallibility.

According to the Apostolic Constitution *Multiplices inter*, the duty of the committees was this: In case the *schemata* first presented were either unacceptable to the fathers, or in want of some correction on which the fathers in general congregation could not agree, they were to be recommitted to the committee either for correction or for reconstruction, in view of the remarks of the fathers upon it. In the General Congregation itself, the committee had no duty intrusted to it, although its individual members were at liberty to express their own views, speaking each for himself and not for the committee.

Of the committee's method of doing business in its own meetings, I cannot speak with certainty. But I have heard that when the question was on reconstructing the first schema *De Fide*, the work of preparing the new draft was committed by the others to three bishops, who were undoubtedly aided in their work by the advising theologians of the committee. So that it is not very rash to suppose that the work of reconstruction was, at least mainly, to be referred to those theologians. Doubtless the rest gave their approval; and perhaps they had some share in the work.

As to the committee's way of doing business in the Council itself, I can speak with more confidence. It was on this wise: In every other deliberative assembly, the committee, after reporting the amended bill, has nothing more to do in the assembly, except, as has already been said, that the individuals of the committee are to state their views and give their votes just like other members of the body. Just the contrary has been done. By virtue of the ninth rule of the DECREE, uttered in the month of February—not by the Council, but by the pope—it was permitted to any member of the committee to take the floor in answer to objections against the *schema*, either on the day they were offered, or on the next day. So it has come about that almost every day, at the beginning of the General Congregation, some one of the fathers of the committee, not in his own name, but in that of the committee, is accustomed to make a speech under the pretext of

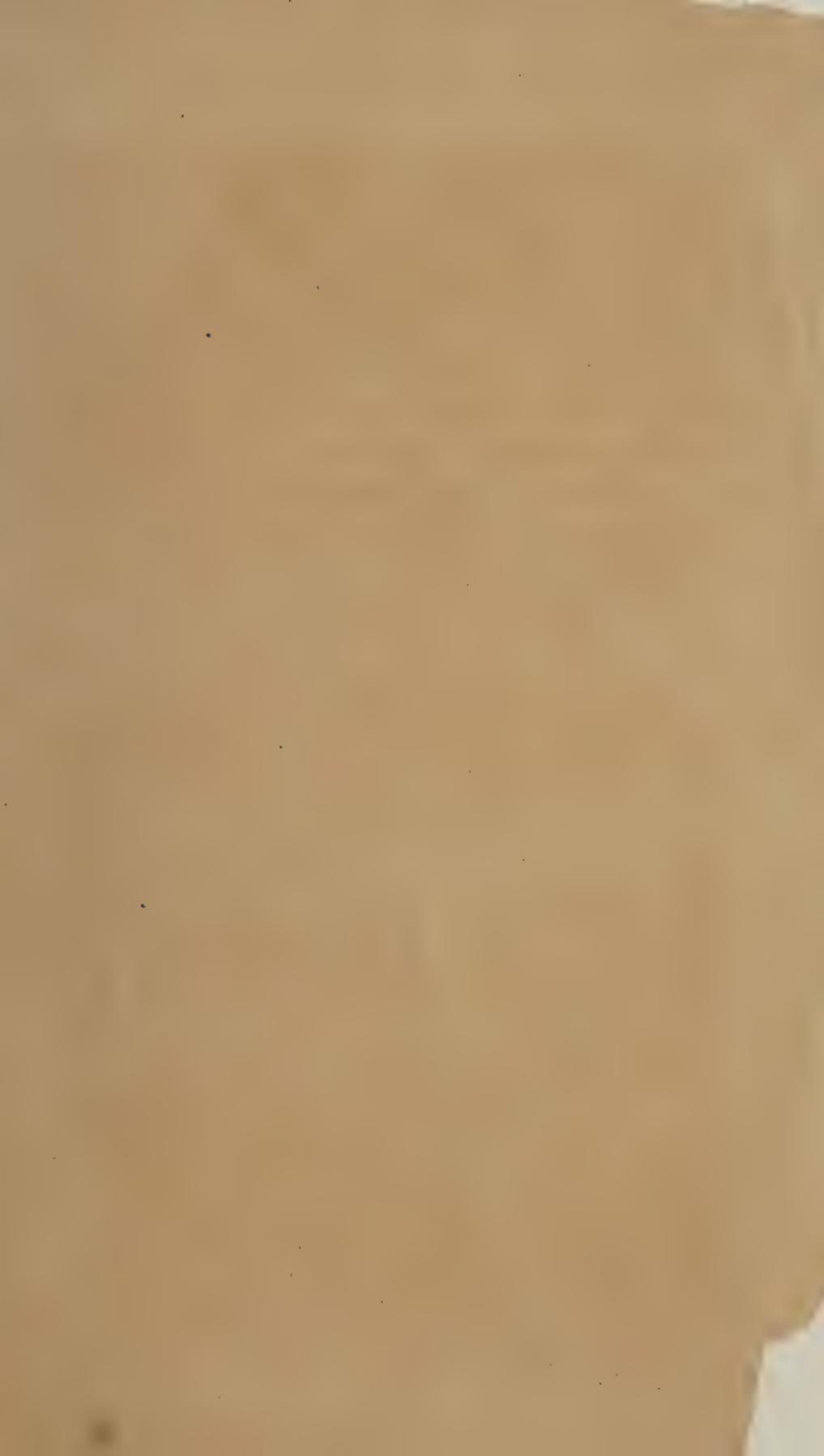
replying to objections, (though these very rarely are replied to,) but as a matter of fact, in hopes of helping on the *schema* by arguments from every quarter, and so of lessening the force of the objections by making a show of them to the unwary, as if they had been answered. Before reaching the preliminary voting, when the question was to be taken on the several amendments offered by some of the bishops, one of the bishops of the committee, called the *relator*, mounts the platform to inform the fathers what the committee thinks of this and that amendment; adding after each amendment the words: "This amendment the committee accepts," or "rejects," or "thinks that with some verbal changes it may be accepted." After this "relation" has been finished, the reverend monsignor the sub-secretary of the Council puts the amendments to vote separately (giving the number of the amendment, and announcing the first words of it in this fashion: "*This amendment is accepted by the committee*," or "*is rejected*," or "*is thus modified*." All those who are in favor of adopting it WILL RISE;" then, "All those who are in favor of rejecting it WILL RISE." It has always happened that the fathers have voted in agreement with the views of the committee. On the first day of the voting, when the question was taken on the third part of the first amendment, *the signal not having yet been used by the sub-secretary as it has constantly been since*, a large number of persons rose, so that those standing had to be counted in order to come at the vote. Then there began to be a great confusion,

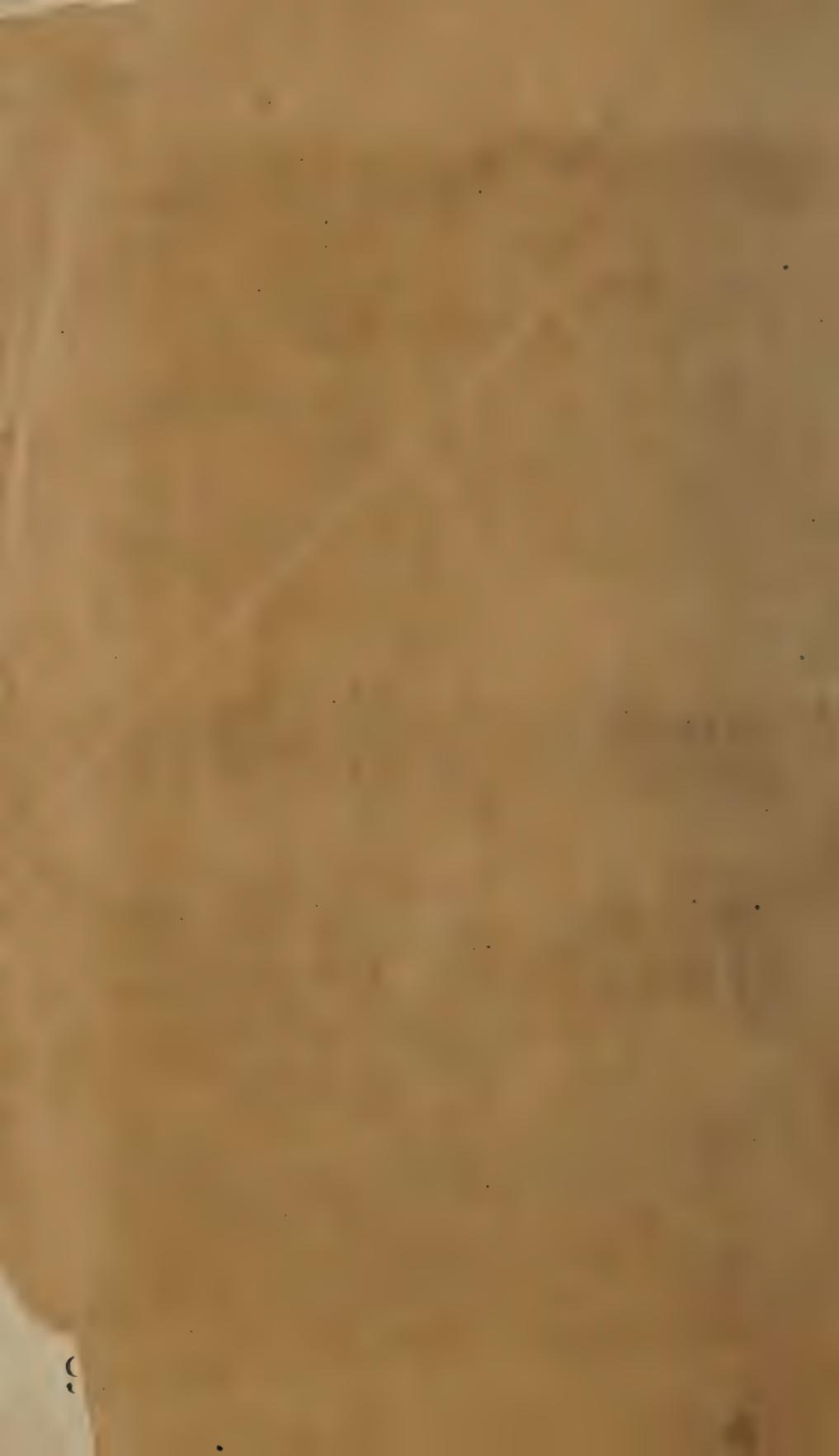
and the amendment, although perhaps adopted by the majority, was postponed till the next day. When the next day came, the right reverend relator warned the fathers from the platform that the committee would not accept that amendment. At once, almost all voted by rising to reject it; only a few (as it commonly happens in such circumstances) voting to adopt it, and that rather to show their own mind than with the hope of accomplishing anything.

Thus, in point of fact, the committee is the Council. The Council hangs upon its nod, and follows its dictation in everything. The committee, in turn, is governed by the theologians, in this sense, at least, that it makes their will its own.

In a speech lately made by one of the right reverend relators, Liberal Catholics are numbered among the enemies of the Holy See; although the relator himself—who belongs to a race who for six hundred years have, till now, been impatient of slavery—well knew that there were some among the bishops who go by that name because they believe that there is some middle course to be found between absolutism and utter license.

[THIS speech forms a part of a volume entitled "*An Inside View of the Vatican Council*," to which the reader is referred for fuller information on the subject. It is published by the American Tract Society, New York.]





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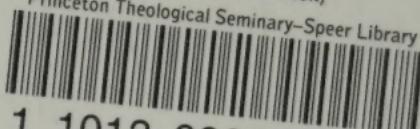
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